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**HEINRICH WITTENWILER — NOBLEMAN OR BURGHER?**

GEORGE FENWICK JONES  
*Princeton University*

The purpose of this study is to determine the social class of Heinrich Wittenwiler, the author of the fifteenth-century Swiss mock-epic, *Der Ring*.<sup>1</sup> It is now generally believed that he was a nobleman, or at least of noble origin. For example, F. Martini calls him *adlig*,<sup>2</sup> and G. Ehrismann says he belonged to the lesser nobility.<sup>3</sup> C. G. Fehrenbach says he was "of noble descent," although "his present status was *bürgerlich* rather than *adlig*."<sup>4</sup> Sieveking-Signorell writes that he "was descended from the noble Thurgau family of the Lords of Wittenwil; but, like so many others of his class, had settled as a burgher in bourgeois surroundings."<sup>5</sup> He then goes on to say that the poet held the position of municipal scribe, but he does not document this statement. Martini (p. 191) also believes him to have been of the urbanized nobility; and L. Fränkel shares this view, as we see in his article in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Vol. 43, p. 610): "and almost beyond doubt he was descended from an actually noble (von Wittenwil) family, which was named for the little locality of Wittenwyl near Wängi above Frauenfeld but called itself simply Wittenwil because of impoverishment or establishment in a purely bourgeois population."

These opinions seem to have resulted from investigations by Jacob Baechtold, Gustav Scherrer, Ernst Bleisch, and Edmund Wiessner. Baechtold first associated the author of the *Ring* with the noble Wittenwil family in 1870.<sup>6</sup> Four years later Scherrer reaffirmed this belief with

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter cited from *Heinrich Wittenwilers Ring*, ed. E. Wiessner (Leipzig, 1931). Previous edition: L. Bechstein, *Der Ring von Heinrich Wittenweiler* (Stuttgart, 1851), BLVS XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> F. Martini, *Das Bauernthum im deutschen Schrifttum von den Anfängen bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Halle, 1944), p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> "zum niederen Ritterstand gehörig," G. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (München, 1935), II 2, 2, p. 486.

<sup>4</sup> C. G. Fehrenbach, *Marriage in Wittenwiler's Ring* (Washington, 1941), p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Rätia, Bündner Zeitschrift für Kultur* (Verlag Sprecher, Eggerling & Co., Chur), V Jahrg., Nr. 1, p. 13. This seems to be taken almost verbatim from Wiessner's introduction to his edition (p. 5).

<sup>6</sup> J. Baechtold, *Der Lanzelet des Ulrich von Zatzikhoven* (Zürich, 1870), p. 16.

much new evidence in his *Kleine Toggenburger Chroniken* (St. Gall, 1874, pp. 112 ff.); and his findings enabled Bleisch to recognize the author of the *Ring* as one of the persons documented in his work.<sup>7</sup> Edmund Wiessner, the leading authority on the *Ring*, has made the most thorough investigation of the subject. Having collated four documents recording various forms of the name Heinrich Wittenwiler, he concluded that they referred to the same person and that he was the author of the poem.<sup>8</sup> Miss Martha Keller has given considerable thought to the problem and believes that the four documents refer to at least two people;<sup>9</sup> for one of the Wittenwilers mentioned in them was alive in 1346 and another was buried in 1436, having died while serving as town constable (*weibel*). Judging by the health standards of the Middle Ages, ninety years would have been an incredibly ripe age at which to hold such an active position.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that no mention was made of this civic function in any of the other documents recording this name.

There is no proof that these four documents refer to any fewer than four different people. Moreover, even if they do refer to the same person, they do not prove that he was the author of the *Ring*, especially in view of the fact that F. Wielandt has revealed that the same name was borne by an episcopal advocate at the court of the bishop of Constance.<sup>11</sup> I agree with Miss Keller (pp. 14 ff.) that this lawyer would have been better qualified to write the *Ring* than the Wittenwiler, or Wittenwilers, of Liechtenstaig. Miss Keller (p. 16) suggests that the advocate may have come from Toggenburg as a boy, a hypothesis which would explain his intimate knowledge of the region. Wielandt (p. 22) has also uncovered another document from Constance revealing that five years earlier a certain Hainreich Witwile pulled a knife and almost stabbed *hern Hansen* the toll agent.

Since it is unnecessary for the pursuit of this investigation, I shall not commit myself by arguing the merits of any particular claimant. However, I do wish to attack the prevalent belief that the author was a nobleman, since there is insufficient historical evidence to support it. The *Ring* manuscript (v. 52) gives the author's name as *Haynreich wittenweylär*, and its first page is adorned with a coat-of-arms representing the upper half of a goat rampant. A goat is also found on the seal of one of the documents discovered by Scherrer and cited by Wiessner (p. 99).

<sup>7</sup> E. Bleisch, *Zum Ring Heinrich Wittenweilers*, Halle diss. (Halle, 1891), pp. 7 ff.

<sup>8</sup> E. Wiessner, *Urkundliche Zeugnisse über Heinrich von Wittenwil*, in *Festgabe für Samuel Singer*, ed. H. Maync (Tübingen, 1930), pp. 98 ff.

<sup>9</sup> M. Keller, *Beiträge zu Wittenwilers "Ring"*, Zurich diss. (Straßburg, 1935), p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Wittenwiler's contemporary, Eustache Deschamps, expressed the prevailing attitude toward age when he declared women old at thirty, men at fifty, and their limit at sixty. *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. de Queux de St. Hilaire (Paris, 1878 ff.), IX, p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> *Bodenseebuch*, XXI (1934), p. 19.

Because such a crest was used by the noble family of Wittenwil, Wiessner accepts this as proof that the poet and the owner of the seal were the same man and that he was a member of the aristocratic family. However, it will be noted that the person mentioned in this document is called only *Hainrich von Wittenwile, genant müller, burger ze Liechtenstaig*. Noblemen seldom stooped to being called *Müller*, for milling was not an honorable profession.<sup>12</sup> The *Ring* itself makes two sarcastic allusions to the miller's proverbial greed and dishonesty (vv. 485 ff., v. 3376).

In looking at the four documents offered by Wiessner — and also at a fifth one of older vintage from Constance, which he presents non-committally (p. 107) — and at the two found by Wielandt, we will see that the Wittenwilers in question are never titled *herr*. In three of them they are designated *meister* or *magister*; and no title whatever is used in the others. This is significant in that many other people in these documents are clearly designated as *herr* or *dominus*. No medieval person called himself *meister* if he could call himself *herr*; so, in view of the fact that wealthy burghers were granted this title in the fifteenth century, the various Wittenwilers must have been of the petty bourgeoisie. To be sure, three of these documents use the preposition *von*, which Fränkel seems to consider a title of rank. However, these documents refer to the person called *müller*, to a Meister Hainrich, and to an "honorable" haini Wittenwille; and they in no way suggest noble status. The preposition *de* appears in the document about the advocate of Constance, whom Martini (p. 179) calls a "noble advocate"; but he too is designated only as *Magister*. It is evident that none of these claim noble blood and that *von* and *de* here indicate geographic origin rather than social status. Nevertheless, many Germans seem to think the word *von* necessarily implies nobility, although *van* in the Netherlands and *von* in some parts of Germany have never laid claims to such distinction. Because in common American usage the word *von* is believed to be used "with German names of nobility,"<sup>13</sup> we often tend to attribute noble rank to any medieval German poet who happens to be known by the name of his birth place. Just as some people are misled by the preposition *von*, others are misled by appellations consisting of place names plus the suffix *er* (*aer*, *är*), which are often believed to indicate noble birth. Because of such a name, many people attribute noble birth to the Bavarian poet *der Pleier*, although he "appears not to have been of a noble family, but simply took his name from the locality in which he lived."<sup>14</sup> Wittenwiler could well have done likewise, since the custom was even more general in his day.

<sup>12</sup> Moscherosch ridiculed millers who wished to become *Junckern von der Mühlen: Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald*, ed. F. Bobertag (Berlin & Stuttgart, n.d.), *DNL* XXXII, p. 40. For dishonorable status of medieval millers, see G. F. Jones, *Realism and Social Satire in Heinrich Wittenwiler's "Ring,"* Columbia diss. (1950), (University Microfilms, Pub. No. 1864), pp. 194 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Funk and Wagnalls College Standard Dictionary* (New York, 1943), p. 1252.

<sup>14</sup> J. Riordan, "A Vindication of the Pleier," *JEGP*, XLVII (1948), p. 29.

As we have seen, several critics believe the author of the *Ring* was of noble descent but had renounced his prerogatives. Scherrer (p. 117) tells us that some of the landed gentry migrated to the city and acquired citizenship while keeping their titles, but "at last they must have given up their claims to nobility too, be it because of lack of wealth necessary for their rank or because of settling in bourgeois circles"; he cites (p. 123) only one example of a noble who signed his name without his title, and this exception can be explained by his being a priest. Such renunciation may have occurred occasionally, but the reverse was far more often the case. As A. Schulte says, the urban nobility was descended more often from former burgher families than from the old *ministeriales*.<sup>15</sup> Illustrious ancestors are as often acquired as inherited. In speaking of the chronicler Othmar Gossau, Scherrer (p. 27) says that many subjects of St. Gall signed themselves Gossau or *von* Gossau without being noble.

Possibly the seal affixed by the above mentioned Heinrich of Wittenwil was not his own but merely that of his patron; for, as Bishop Percy wrote in his *Essay on the Ancient Minstrels*, "Such as were retained by noble families wore the arms of their patrons hanging down by a silver chain as a kind of badge."<sup>16</sup> Bishop Percy himself was not averse to basking in borrowed glory: although he was the son and grandson of grocers who spelled their name Piercy, he concocted a pedigree in which he tried to identify his family with that of the descendants of Ralph Percy, the third Earl of Northumberland.<sup>17</sup> A parallel can be seen in the case of Pope Pius IV, who called himself Johannes Angelus Medici of Milan, but who "belonged to an obscure family in Milan and took this name."<sup>18</sup> However, we do not have to go so far afield to find a suitable comparison. In an article about Jakob Ayrer (*ADB*, I, p. 708), J. Franck writes that "according to Nopitsch he did not belong to the Ayrer family of Nuremberg but was actually named Eier, came to Nuremberg as a poor boy and appropriated there the name and coat-of-arms of that family." Perhaps it is significant that there are certain similarities between Wittenwiler's and Ayrer's social attitudes.

I do not contend that the author of the *Ring* was an imposter, since he himself made no claim whatever to noble blood, although a nobleman would probably have done so. All we know for certain is that the poem was written by a certain *Haynreich wittenweylär* and that the manuscript is embellished with a coat-of-arms like that of the house of Wittenwil. The escutcheon, however, could have been added by a later scribe who happened to associate the name of the author with that of the illustrious family. Wiessner believes our manuscript to be a copy,<sup>19</sup> and it is quite possible that the copyist added the escut-

<sup>15</sup> A. Schulte, "Die Standesverhältnisse der Minnesinger," *ZfdA*, 39 (1895), p. 185.

<sup>16</sup> *Percy's Reliques*, ed. A. Wheatley (London, 1891), I, p. 377.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. lxxxi.

<sup>18</sup> G. F. Young, *The Medici* (New York, 1928), I, p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> *ZfdA*, LXIV (1927), p. 152.

cheon arbitrarily in order to glorify his professional predecessor. We need not be surprised that there were so many people named Wittenwiler, since this name was permitted to anyone from any of several places named Wittenwil. Heinrich seems to have been the most popular name in Switzerland at that time, in fact it appears more often than any other name in the *Ring* (vv. 127, 1645, 8633).

Thus we see that the author of the *Ring* has not yet been conclusively identified and that none of the five proposed persons had any claim to noble blood. Even if the author did have some pretense to descent from the noble Wittenwil family, this would not necessarily make him a nobleman in sentiment. We should judge Wittenwiler's work on its own merits and not be influenced by our questionable beliefs about his social status. Before the author of *Ring* had become associated with the noble Wittenwil family, Adalbert von Keller had taken it for granted that he was a burgher, as he states in his introduction to Bechstein's edition of the *Ring* (p. vi).

Some critics justify the hypothesis of the author's noble birth by citing certain courtly elements in the poem. Martini, who believes that Wittenwiler was the *noble* episcopal advocate, maintains that he stood between the nobility and the bourgeoisie and was satirizing the middle class who attempted to indulge in the knightly art of jousting (p. 189). Likewise he believes that he actually glorified chivalry (p. 187). As I have indicated elsewhere,<sup>20</sup> I feel that Wittenwiler ridiculed the art of jousting, as was customary among the burghers of his day. Fehrenbach (p. 56) believes in the seriousness of the courtly elements in the *Ring* and claims that Wittenwiler "retained respect for the higher classes and we find little real satire on these in the *Ring*." He documents his statement by referring to Wiessner's article about Wittenwiler's identity, but we should remember that this article was written with the express purpose of establishing the authorship by a member of the noble family. Ehrismann admits that Wittenwiler dragged the chivalrous ideal into the comic, grotesque, and obscene; yet he maintains that the chivalrous element is not actually supposed to be ridiculed but rather to be used as a model.<sup>21</sup> However, even if these elements are to be taken seriously, it does not follow that either the author or his public was necessarily of noble birth; for the burghers of his era strove to ape the genteel behavior of their social betters, as is attested by the popularity of manuals on good table manners and other courteous behavior. Miss Keller (p. 73) seems to doubt the seriousness of one part of this courtly lore when she states that "one does not get the impression that Wittenwiler really seriously wishes to recommend the art of courtly love for his bourgeois readers or to endear it to them." Moreover, even if the *Ring* were predominantly

<sup>20</sup> "The Tournaments of Tottenham and Lappenhausen," *PMLA*, 66 (Dec., 1951), pp. 1123 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *ZfdPh*, LVI (1931), pp. 470 ff.

aristocratic, this would not prove that Wittenwiler was a nobleman. There need be no exact relationship between a person's own caste and the social attitudes expressed in his works, since these may have been written to please an aristocratic public or patron.<sup>22</sup> We are prone to assume that all leisure-class poetry is written by leisure-class poets,<sup>23</sup> whereas this is not always the case. Lavish descriptions of court life can be written by people who have experienced it only in a menial capacity, or only in books.

Whereas several critics think that Wittenwiler was writing, at least in part, for the nobility, only Fehrenbach thinks he was also writing for the peasantry. This view is the natural consequence of his conviction (p. 59) that Wittenwiler was a "generous, sympathetic individual . . . a peasant's friend" who is trying to "explain and correct their way of thinking in order to raise them socially, spiritually, intellectually, morally and so to help them remove the obloquy associated with the mere mention of their name." Realizing that much of the *Ring* is obviously unsuitable for the peasants, he concedes (p. 18) that he "did not write for peasants, or at least not exclusively for them." I consider it obvious that the *Ring* was not written for the peasants at all. Firstly, the peasants of that day, like those in the poem,<sup>24</sup> were generally illiterate and did not furnish an important reading public. Secondly, much of the instruction would have been completely useless to them.<sup>25</sup> Thirdly, the humor of the *Ring*, which consists expressly of peasant satire (vv. 36 ff.), would not have amused them; and one virulent outburst of hostility would have offended them (vv. 7866 ff., cf. v. 4862).

Whereas the *Ring* could hardly have been written for the nobility, and could not have been written for the peasantry, it could very well have been written for the bourgeoisie.<sup>26</sup> As we have seen, Martini believes the author of the *Ring* to have been a noble; yet he considers (p. 186) the closely related poem and probable source, *Metzenhochzeit*, to be a "Sittenbild of bourgeois origin." If this is so, it should hold true of the *Ring* as well, since the two poems have similar social attitudes. W. Pfeiffer-Belli, who also believes in Wittenwiler's noble status, likewise

<sup>22</sup> This would be particularly true of menial tutors. For example, Konrad von Haslau was a *meister*: *Seifried Helbling*, ed. J. Seemüller (Halle, 1886), II, v. 443; yet he expressed knightly sentiments in his precepts for noble children.

<sup>23</sup> Seemüller (pp. viii ff.) says Helbling's social satire against the peasants reveals him as a knight. Hilda Hügli in *Der deutsche Bauer im Mittelalter*, Bern diss. (Strassburg, 1928), p. 52, agrees with this reasoning and says, "This conservative aristocratic attitude of the chronicler (Ottokar) is exactly the same as that of Seifried Helbling, and like him he was apparently a layman of noble origin." Likewise G. Zink believes that Heinrich der Vogler's political views prove he was a *lantherr*, *Les Légendes héroïques de Dietrich et d'Ermrich* (Lyons, 1950), p. 52.

<sup>24</sup> Note that both the hero and heroine are illiterate (vv. 1643 ff., 1959 ff.).

<sup>25</sup> E. g., the lengthy discussions about food, wine, and military science.

<sup>26</sup> G. Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* (Leipzig, 1871), II, p. 419, believes it written by a man of bourgeois stamp (*bürgerlichem Schlage*). Ehrismann (II, 2, 2, p. 486) finds it "entirely bourgeois."

finds it difficult to appraise his work correctly; for, in evaluating the upper classes' opinion of the peasant, he states that they all despised him, "whether, like Wittenwiler, one wished to present him as a dirty caricature of a knight, or, like Hans Foltz and his consorts, to bring him onto the stage for the amusement of the Nuremberg citizenry as a kind of human beast whose thoughts and endeavors are aimed only at lewdness, gluttony, and bodily excretions."<sup>27</sup> I believe he has made this sharp distinction between Wittenwiler and the Shrovetide dramatists only because of his belief in Wittenwiler's noble status and not because of any intrinsic difference in their treatment of the peasants. Perhaps the best proof of Wittenwiler's bourgeois viewpoint is a comparison of the *Ring* with works by known bourgeois writers such as Hugo of Trimberg, Hans Foltz, and Hans Sachs, who are clearly kindred spirits.

Wittenwiler shows his middle-class attitude by praising honest toil. To be sure, like other burgher writers he follows the literary tradition of ridiculing all farm labor as an attribute of the vulgar villagers; yet he is not against labor as such. For example, in the marriage debate, Töreleina says that servants are unnecessary:

Wer nicht haben mag en knecht, v. 2917  
Der dien im selber: daz ist recht!

Such a suggestion would have offended the sensibilities of the courtly do-nothings. The practical burgher, on the other hand, was not too proud to work even with his servants:

Und wilt du haben sicher gwin, v. 5122  
So ste vil fruo auf sampt mit in  
Und sich auch selber zuo dem vich.

The last verse may suggest that Wittenwiler was trying to gain a bit of realism by addressing the peasants in the poem rather than his bourgeois readers; but it may just as well imply that the burghers sometimes maintained rural establishments, in spite of their pretended scorn for farm work. It will be noted that one of the Wittenwilers documented by Wiessner (p. 102 ff.) possessed some productive land. This latter explanation is further suggested by another passage in the poem when Schlindenspek says that the head of a family must have house, yard, hired-hand, cattle, fields, and meadow (vv. 2861 ff.). In Scherrer's *Kleine Toggenburger Chroniken* (pp. 2 ff.), in which Wiessner found his most convincing document attesting the name Wittenwiler, we find a healthy interest in agriculture. Perhaps the Swiss bourgeoisie accepted the leisure-class prejudice against farm work as a literary convention rather than a maxim of behavior.

No matter whether Wittenwiler is recommending these menial tasks for his burgher readers or for his peasant characters, it is clear that his

<sup>27</sup> W. Pfeiffer-Belli, *Mönche und Ritter, Bürger und Bauern im deutschen Epos des Spätmittelalters* (Frankfurt, 1934), p. 50.

advice about handicraft and commerce (vv. 5102 ff.) was not for the peasants, whose sons were rejected by the guilds.<sup>28</sup> Likewise it could not be for a noble public, who would have disdained all productive work.<sup>29</sup> The nobility's attitude toward trade is clearly expressed in a little poem called *The Falcon*, which appeared early in the thirteenth century:

Swelch ritter sich daz an nimb,  
Daz einem choufman wol gezint,  
Der tvt em valschen [!] niht gelich  
Er hönet daz leben und ovch sich.<sup>30</sup>

The same prejudice is found in the works of the fourteenth century mystic Giselher of Slatheim: "wolde ein rittir caufmanschaft triben, daz were groiz schande, he sal rittirschaft triben."<sup>31</sup> Muskatblüt, a fifteenth century minstrel, was likewise shocked by the mercenary behavior of the nobility:

So ist es nu kurtzlich worden,  
daz ritter knecht recht wol geboren  
sint tredent in des wuochers orden.<sup>32</sup>

Such noble sentiments are quite contrary to Wittenwiler's admonition:

Wilt du wein und korn verkauffen, v. 5141  
So scholt zuo in des ersten lauffen  
Und geben bass dann andern leuten!

Obviously Wittenwiler's very practical teachings were not aimed at an aristocratic public, for such a public would have demanded leisure-class literature. The leisure-class nature of Middle High German courtly poetry has never been adequately stressed in literary criticism, although most poems and epics of the period closely conform to the rules set down by Thorstein Veblen in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*. Friedrich Schlegel anticipated Veblen in noting the relationship between leisure and nobility: in his "Idyl about Leisure" in *Lucinde* he observes that "under all the corners of Heaven it is the right of leisure that distinguishes between aristocrats and commoners regarding the real principle of nobility."

The nobility had looked upon all productive work as a curse like original sin; or, as Miss Hügli (p. 3) expresses it, "work was a curse,

<sup>28</sup> According to H. Pirenne (*ESS*, VII, p. 213), a usual condition of guild membership was "affiliation with the local bourgeoisie." Likewise, according to O. Beneke, *Von unebrlichen Leuten* (Hamburg, 1863), p. 79, membership was usually restricted to the sons of "honorable" parents; and, in the eyes of the burghers, all peasants were by definition "dishonorable." This is indicated by Hans Sachs when one of his burgher characters refuses to receive a peasant into his home because, "Ich halt zw gast nur eber lewt," *Sämmliche Fastnachtsstücke von Hans Sachs*, ed. E. Goetze (Halle, 1881), *NDL*, XXXI, p. 27, v. 53. Wittenwiler alludes to the peasants' purported "dishonorable" status by emphasizing that both Bertschi's and Metzi's kinfolk are *erber leut* (vv. 2640, 3624). Cf. *nambhaft* (v. 3465).

<sup>29</sup> For leisure-class attitude toward nobles who engaged in agriculture, see *Helbling*, I, vv. 822 ff. and XV, vv. 100 ff.

<sup>30</sup> H. Meyer-Benfey, *MbD Übungsstücke* (Halle, 1909), p. 53, VI, vv. 127 ff.

<sup>31</sup> P. Strauch, *Paradisus anime intelligentis* (Berlin, 1919), p. 89, vv. 4 ff.

<sup>32</sup> E. von Groote, *Die Lieder Muskatbluts* (Köln, 1852), p. 243, no. 93, vv. 33 ff.

and those who were cursed were scorned and hated." Werner Wittich claims that "the entire ancient and medieval world is understandable only if one frees himself from the view that 'productive work ennobles (wirtschaftliche Arbeit adelst).' All productive activity was a dirty business that decent people undertook only when compelled by necessity."<sup>33</sup> This view certainly obtained in Greece and Rome before their fall, and it seems to have prevailed among the nobility of medieval Europe. However, the Germanic tribes seem to have had a hardworking, yet self-respecting, middle class of yeoman farmers between the drones and the drudges.<sup>34</sup> This triadic society is clearly depicted in the tenth century Viking poem "The Lay of Rig." In it the nobleman Jarl amuses himself by fighting, hunting, swimming, playing chess, carving runes, and seizing other people's property. Karl, the yeoman, is a skilled artisan and husbandman who leaves all dirty and degrading drudgery to the serf, Thrall.<sup>35</sup> Apparently the medieval burgher inherited the social values of the ancient yeomanry, taking pride in skilled work but despising those doomed to perform hard labor.

The courtly poets shunned all reference to physical work and went to the greatest of pains to show that their heroes had done nothing productive. The *Lay of the Nibelungs* is an excellent illustration of this attitude; its heroes do nothing but fight, hunt, eat, drink, and make love. Although courtly poets called such pastimes *unmüeze* (non-leisure),<sup>36</sup> they are prime examples of "conspicuous leisure" as defined by Veblen. To be sure, the women in the court epics are always busy, but only unproductively; for they spend their time in cutting costly fabrics and setting precious gems into expensive imported materials. Moreover, they work only for their own men-folk, and not for commercial use. In other words, their own efforts serve primarily as vicarious leisure and conspicuous consumption to enhance the "pecuniary respectability" of their husbands. This is a far cry from Wittenwiler's middle-class views of how a wife should occupy herself:

Haiss sei fürben, nän und spinnen,      v. 5089  
 Melchen, säugen, wilt du gwinnen,  
 Lass sei selten müessig gen.

He again endorses hard work by letting the apothecary Straub advise light workers to eat lightly, and

<sup>33</sup> W. Wittich, "Die Frage des Freibauern," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Ger. Abth., XXII (1901), p. 254.

<sup>34</sup> Although Wittich (pp. 245 ff.) has done much to discredit the romanticised ideal of the noble warrior-farmer concocted by Julius Möser and his disciples, it still seems that there was a certain element of small, relatively free, proprietors who took an active part in husbandry.

<sup>35</sup> H. Bellows, *The Poetic Edda* (New York, 1923), pp. 201 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Ulrich von Liechtensteins *Frauendienst*, ed. R. Bechstein (Leipzig, 1888), v. 1069, 7.

Grosseu speis er haben wil  
Der sich da üebt und arbeit vil.

v. 4252

This health lecture recommends the use of silk, cotton, figs, fish, and other expensive items; so it cannot have been written for the peasant characters in the poem. Therefore it must have been written for bourgeois readers, work being below the dignity of the aristocracy.

Wittenwiler's bourgeois nature is also revealed in his praise of frugality. For example, Straub recommends moderation in eating and says one should eat one's roughest food first:

Das daz gröbist sei daz erst,  
Und daz zertist nim ze lest.

v. 4304

The heroes of courtly poetry, on the other hand, ate nothing crude, in fact they seldom ate anything but fish, venison, and white bread. Wittenwiler also recommends moderation in drinking (*wein mit fuog*, v. 3910) and even says that the best husband is one to whom wine is unknown (*Dem der wein sei underchant*, v. 3691). Of course this may have applied only to the peasants, since the burghers agreed with the nobility that the peasants should never drink anything so fine. Wittenwiler also preaches moderation in clothing, saying we should wear clothes that are honorable but not too rich (*Erber gwand und nicht ze reich*, v. 5053). This is in striking contrast to the court poets, who bedecked their noble characters in such incredible quantities of rare and imported materials, heavily laden with red gold and noble stones. Wittenwiler even recommends frugality in entertainment:

Mit gesten nicht daz dein verzer,  
Wilt du behalten guot und er!

v. 5037

This is quite unlike the lavish hospitality so dear to the hearts of the medieval minstrels, who made it quite clear that their generous patrons were frankly exchanging wealth for "honor."<sup>37</sup> Whereas the favorite heroes of the courtly epics had given away gold rings by the shieldful, Wittenwiler praises the man who gives no more than he should (vv. 4882 ff.).

Throughout the didactic parts of the poem, which Wittenwiler claims are really the more important, he preaches the bourgeois values of diligence and thrift. Virtue is good because it pays. The word *vrum* is used in a strictly utilitarian sense, and honor can be gained by wearing good clothes, owning a house, or saving money. Although he does lip-service to romantic love, he recommends an economically sound marriage; and, although he endorses the clerical ideal of contempt for the world, he finds his greatest value in the material security offered by a warm house and a well stocked larder.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. the literary commonplace "*guot um ère nemen*," also *beide durch ère und durch got teilte er swaz er mochte hân*, Herzog Ernst, ed. K. Bartsch (Wien, 1869), vv. 98 ff.

In conclusion we see that the author of the *Ring* has not yet been positively identified and that there is no evidence that he was of noble birth or descent. On the other hand, his poem is deeply imbued with middle-class values and was no doubt written for a bourgeois public. In view of this, literary historians should stop referring to him as the *noble Heinrich von Wittenwil*.



## HERMANN LÖNS AND THE MODERN GERMAN ANIMAL TALE

FRANK X. BRAUN

*University of Michigan*

It is one of the paradoxes in the strange career of Hermann Löns (1866-1914) that literary fame to which he so ardently aspired through the medium of the novel should have come to him only by way of his "bread and butter" writings. For Löns, the journalist, today enjoys the reputation of being both a pioneer and one of the early masters of the modern German animal tale. He possessed to a unique degree both literary artistry and scientific training. Since the so-called modern animal tale is of hybrid origin, stemming from the union of belles-lettres and science, Löns, it would seem, was eminently suited and practically predestined to perform his role as initiator of a new trend in the German animal narrative. Initiator though he was of a new type of animal fiction, he was firmly rooted in the past, both as a man of letters and a man of science. It is generally accepted that Löns' distinction as a writer lies in the field of the impressionistic sketch (a fact which becomes manifest also in his novels), and in style and general outlook he has been fittingly compared with Liliencron. However, the scientific component of his art needs to be treated more fully, both because it has been less thoroughly investigated and because it is the newest element in animal fiction.

As a man of science, Löns was a product of nineteenth century zoology, and a voluminous bibliography of contributions, some of them dating back to his *Gymnasium* days, attests to his stature as an original researcher. Nineteenth century zoology, under the impact of Darwinism, rapidly advanced from microscopy, mensuration, and comparative description, from the subdividing of subdivisions, to a more over-all view of the animal as a biological entity. This trend is reproduced in miniature and compressed into a shorter period of time in Löns' own development as a scientist. Notwithstanding Löns' reputation as a zoologist, let it be stressed at the very beginning that it was not purely scientific accuracy that placed the mark of uniqueness on his subsequent animal narratives. His true originality lay in the fact that he expressed in a very personal manner an attitude which developments in intellectual history had made possible. In the humanistic realm he was a pioneer, therefore, only insofar as he, in his dual capacity as artist and scientist, was capable of feeling and of communicating a certain emotional attitude toward the world which science had revealed. To be sure, he did use the materials of science, but in his hands they were transformed into literature, because these materials, in the selective and recreative process of his imagination, assumed an additional human significance without losing scientific veracity or probability.

Significant as the advance of pure science was in the nineteenth century, of still greater and more immediate import from the humanistic point of view were the writings of the great nineteenth century naturalists, men like Tschudi, Brehms, and a host of others.<sup>1</sup> In their works were reflected, in a somewhat popularized form, the findings of pure science. It was this group of writers who, to a great extent, generated the intellectual climate and the emotional willingness to accept science's changing view of the natural world.<sup>2</sup> Löns not only was heir to but actually carried on the work of these nineteenth century naturalists when he contributed to a publishing venture which subsequently played the role of accoucheur to the modern German animal tale.

In 1905, the publisher R. Voigtlander commissioned the zoologist Hermann Meerwarth to edit a series of volumes of animal sketches. Meerwarth was fortunate enough to procure a number of collaborators who measured up to his somewhat unusual requirements: he demanded scientific training, highly developed powers of observation, and literary or journalistic skill. The most brilliant member of Meerwarth's group was Hermann Löns.<sup>3</sup> His contributions to Meerwarth's *Bilder aus der Tierwelt*<sup>4</sup> are not what Castelle claims them to be, namely "Tiernovellen,"<sup>5</sup> but they do represent descriptive natural history in ideal form. The inspiring success of Meerwarth's animal biographies proved to be the catalyst needed for the metamorphosis of natural history to belles-lettres. The last stage in the subsequent development was the inclusion of the narrative element, the event, and with that the animal took its

<sup>1</sup> Friedrich von Tschudi, *Tierleben der Alpen* (1853); Alfred Brehm, *Tierleben*, 6 vols. (1864-1869). Löns spoke with great admiration of the work of the French naturalist Jean-Henri Fabre (*Les Souvenirs Entomologiques*, 10 vols., 1879 ff.), who was called by Darwin "the inimitable observer." Löns himself admits the stimulating effect that the writings of the naturalist-poet Ferdinand von Droste-Hülshoff had on his literary efforts, and he undoubtedly was acquainted with the widely read *Spaziergänge eines Naturforschers* (1888), written by the popular professor of zoology at the University of Leipzig, William Marshall (1845-1907). The naturalist who perhaps left the most direct imprint on the young university student Löns was his zoology professor at Münster, Professor Hermann Kolbe, of whom Leberecht Treu, a friend of Löns, writes: "[Er] kam für uns gleich nach dem lieben Gott. Der hatte ja die Tiere geschaffen, aber Kolbe kannte sie alle." *Löns Gedenkbuch* (Hannover, 1917), p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> It is a serious shortcoming of Hedwig Nell's *Die gestaltenden Kräfte in der neuen deutschen Tierdichtung*, (diss. München, 1937) not to have traced more thoroughly the role which naturalists played in German intellectual history. They were responsible for many revolutions in the realm of sensitivity and actually conditioned the possibility of Löns' feeling about animals as he did. These men were truly the builders of bridges between man and animal and therefore constitute an important part of the background of modern German animal fiction.

<sup>3</sup> See Albert Deimann, "Vom Werden der Lönnsschen Tierdichtung," *Markwart* (Feb. 1927) Heft 8, p. 118. Among the other contributors were Fritz Bley and Egon von Kapherr, both of whom subsequently made a name for themselves in German animal fiction.

<sup>4</sup> 12 volumes, 1907-1912. Löns' contributions are reprinted in volume III of his own *Sämtliche Werke*, 8 vols. (Leipzig, 1923), edited by Friedrich Castelle.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, III, 7.

place among literary protagonists, obeying its own laws within the confines of the short story, of the *Novelle*, and later of the animal novel.

It was a critical point in animal literature when the beast in fiction ceased to be pressed into service as a didactic tool, as a bludgeon in religious struggles, as a disguise for the depiction of human types, as an unfeeling target for the mighty hunter, or as a condescendingly anthropomorphic creature. The emancipation of the animal in literary history was achieved when the animal was granted the right to obey the recognized laws of its own nature; and it is this change in attitude, regardless of chronological or stylistic criteria, which separates the old from the modern animal tale. With the portrayal of the animal personality according to its own natural laws, the old dictum that man is the measure of all things must of necessity fall by the wayside. In order to avoid the cardinal sin of anthropomorphism, human norms of motivation and behavior must surrender to genuine animal psychology. It is not surprising, therefore, that both authors and critics of animal fiction have bestowed the mark of highest merit upon one particular type of narrative, the objective animal tale, which is perhaps best defined by the distinguished British naturalist and author, Ivan T. Sanderson:

It is [in the objective animal tale] that the finest of all animal literature is to be found, for the reader is taken into the mind of the animal to look out through its eyes, to hear through its ears, to smell through its nostrils, to taste through its mouth, and to feel through its skin. These various channels of sensation conspire to create the actual emotions of the animal in the reader's mind. Tales of the objective type are thus told entirely from the animal's point of view, but in our language and through our mental formula, and in the best examples they compound all that we know of the habits, behavior and outlook of the animals. In their purest form, they are the ultimate of the Animal Tale.<sup>6</sup>

In keeping with this definition, a story told from the human point of view, i. e. with the tendency "to endow the animal with desires, motives, and emotions of man," the so-called subjective or anthropomorphic animal tale, must be looked for at the lower end of Sanderson's scale. With these generally accepted criteria in mind, a brief survey of the contributions of Hermann Löns may now be attempted.

Löns' animal tales, in short-story or *Novelle* form, are contained in volume IV of his collected works. The remaining seven volumes comprise his poetry, over four hundred shorter prose pieces — predominantly nature and hunting sketches, five novels, and satirical writings. Most of the animal tales under discussion here originally appeared in book form under the well-known titles *Mümmelmann* (1909), and *Widu*,

<sup>6</sup> Ivan T. Sanderson, *Anthology of Animal Tales* (New York, 1946), p. 9. Compare also Walter Kühlhorn's discussion of "absolute Tierdichtung" in Merker-Stammle, *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin, 1928), III, 369.

published in 1917, three years after Löns' death on the battlefield. Although these two collections of animal narratives were written within six years of each other, they are so significantly different, both in type and outlook, that they actually represent two different stages of Löns' narrative art.

*Mümmelmann*, the first collection, presents a bewildering variety of tales. There are remnants from natural history ("Das Eichhörnchen," "Die Zeit der schweren Not") where the all-important step from genus to specimen, i. e. from the animal type to the distinctive animal personality, is not yet evident. Interspersed here and there are some of Löns' famous hunting tales in which the animal, though a marked personality, shares the center of the stage with the ego of its pursuer. Over half of the narratives, and this is significant, are clearly subjective animal fiction, since the characters, although well observed externally, are deliberately humanized in speech and motivation. Among these must be counted also the tales dealing with animals of domestic breed, which constitute the most notorious pitfall in all animal literature. In only two of the twenty narratives does Löns approach the level of excellence that marks the majority of the objective tales in the second collection, *Widu*. In spite of the clearly transitional nature of the stories in *Mümmelmann*, this little volume is by far the more popular of the two, probably due to the earthy humor that pervades these subjective tales. For here we find heroic and philosophical hares talking Low German, a young cock snipe whose embarrassing marital difficulties are radically solved by a hungry fox, charming rabbit ladies who brag about their respective fertility, and other amusing tales which would indicate that Löns the scientist is enjoying a holiday. Humor in animal tales, enjoyable as it may be, is nearly always a sign of anthropomorphism, for it usually implies that the author, for reasons of his own, observes with superior human insight a situation in animal life which the animal may not find humorous at all.

There is, in addition, a characteristically Lönsian note in these humorous animal narratives. All the creatures, wild or domestic, whom he depicts in a ludicrous or satirical vein, belong without exception in the lower categories of Löns' personal animal hierarchy. In it are found all those who owe their survival to timidity, caution, and fertility as well as the unfree, security-loving animals of domestic breed. Both groups represent the plebeians and philistines among the animals, and they are treated according to Löns' evaluation of the type and thus become a fit subject for comedy.

*Widu*, Löns' second collection of animal tales, however, is largely devoted to the aristocrats, to the intellectuals of the animal world, the carnivores. Employing predominantly the objective narrative style, he portrays, often with merciless realism, those whom he loves and respects

— the hunters among the animals, as well as those of the herbivores whom he considers worthy of the hunt. In these objective animal tales about wolves and foxes, badgers and otters, weasels, stags and deer, Löns becomes the neutral reporter of fascinating and dramatic animal fates. He merely lends his pen, so to speak, to record events as experienced by the animal organism and interpreted by the animal mind. In this performance he is aided by his phenomenal power of observation, by a profound though judiciously controlled empathy, and above all by a willingness, rare among writers of animal literature, to sacrifice anthropocentric intellectual complexities. Although disdainful of the formal animal psychology of his day, he nevertheless succeeded to a greater degree than many of his imitators in conveying a scientifically accurate and aesthetically satisfying picture of animal intelligence and animal emotions.

There are short stories in *Widu* (to mention but two: "Ein Trauerspiel" and "Das Ende") which, measured by any standard, deserve to be called classics of the genre. And thus within six years, between *Mümmelmann* and *Widu*, Löns gained for modern German animal fiction a respected place in international literature. In doing so, he attained practically in spite of himself the distinction of being both pioneer and master of a new type of animal narrative.



## SCHNITZLER'S ANTICIPATION OF FREUD'S DREAM THEORY

FREDERICK J. BEHARRIELL

*Indiana University*

Our present knowledge of the Freud-Schnitzler relationship points to a coincidence so striking as almost to defy belief. Apparently we should assume that these two Viennese physicians simultaneously and quite independently "discovered" certain far-reaching psychological principles now broadly known as Freudianism. The coincidence is the more remarkable since those principles remain to this day in dispute. The idea of two simultaneous discoveries of a theory taxes credulity even more than simultaneous discoveries of an incontrovertible fact. Only conclusive evidence could justify the assumption. The available evidence, however, is slight and unverified. In view of the fact that each man had used the opportunity to read the other's works as they were published, the theory of two independent insights, or series of insights, clearly requires demonstration. This paper offers evidence that such a coincidence, unlikely though it seems, actually occurred.

The question is not without significance. If Schnitzler's principal insights into depth psychology are indeed found to be spontaneous and original, his reputation as a psychologist is removed from obscurity in that throng of writers whose "psychology" consists in a recasting of Freud's published views. Conversely Freud's theories, still the subject of lively controversy, would be reinforced. Finally, if Schnitzler's works incorporate an independent view of personality rather than a completely orthodox Freudianism, the interpretation of aspects of those works may well be affected.

It may be taken as obvious and accepted fact that Schnitzler's treatment of personality shows a clear awareness and a general acceptance of basic "Freudian" principles. Psychoanalysts early found in his works a gold mine of material suited to their purposes.<sup>1</sup> More recently, Professor V. A. Oswald, Jr. has shown conclusively that the story *Fräulein Else* is comprehensible only in a Freudian reading.<sup>2</sup> Freud and Schnitzler were themselves quite aware of their similarity of viewpoint. Each expressed his admiration of the other, Schnitzler calling Freud his "double," and Freud referring to Schnitzler as his "psychic twin."<sup>3</sup> So striking, indeed, is Schnitzler's mastery of depth psychology that many critics

<sup>1</sup> E. g., Theodor Reik, *Arthur Schnitzler als Psycholog* (Minden i. W., 1913), subsequently cited as "Reik"; H. Sachs, "Die Motivgestaltung bei Schnitzler," *Imago* (Wien, 1913), II, 3, pp. 302-318.

<sup>2</sup> Victor A. Oswald, Jr. and Veronica Pinter Mindess, "Schnitzler's 'Fräulein Else' and the Psychoanalytic Theory of Neuroses," *Germanic Review* XXVI, 4 (Dec., 1951), 279-288.

<sup>3</sup> George Sylvester Viereck, *Glimpses of the Great* (New York, 1930), 399-400, subsequently cited as "Viereck."

have taken him for simply another of Freud's many literary disciples.<sup>4</sup>

Freud's independence of Schnitzler can, of course, scarcely be questioned. His voluminous writings record in complete detail the whole gradual development of his theories out of actual clinical experience. Schnitzler's independence of Freud, on the other hand, is suggested by meager and not impartial testimony. The Viennese critic Richard Specht, a friend of Schnitzler's, assumed independent insight by the latter.<sup>5</sup> Specht, however, vigorously rejects psychoanalysis. Freud's pupil Theodor Reik, throughout his book, likewise assumes a series of independent discoveries by Schnitzler, but without justifying the assumption; it is reported that Schnitzler gave a negative answer to an inquiry whether *Frau Beate und ihr Sohn* was based on one of Freud's essays (Reik, 157). Schnitzler himself reportedly implied a claim to general originality (Viereck, 399-400). Professor Oswald has discovered letters from Freud to Schnitzler showing that Freud praised Schnitzler as a pioneer and independent master of depth psychology, and proving that as late as 1922 the two had never met (Oswald, 279-280).

None of this testimony, however, eliminates the possibility that Schnitzler actually owed all or most of his "Freudian" insights to a sympathetic reading of Freud's works as they were published. In that case neither man's personal testimony could be considered unbiased. There are many indications, particularly in his posthumous papers, that Schnitzler strongly hoped for an honored place in literary history. Freud was notoriously hurt by the early rejection of his theories, and eager to find confirmation of them where he could.

That Schnitzler read Freud's works, or a large number of them, is certain. It is likely that he followed them from the first. In the mid-nineties when Freud began to publish his views on mental disease, Schnitzler was still reviewing books in that field and reporting the meetings of the *Verein für Psychiatrie und Neurologie in Wien* for the *Wiener klinische Rundschau*,<sup>6</sup> of which he was also editor until September, 1894. It is scarcely conceivable that he remained unaware of the controversies caused by Freud's first publications, particularly since the confessional, novelistic nature of Freud's case histories would attract him: he was "fascinated" by that feature of a book by Krafft-Ebing.<sup>7</sup> We do know that as Freud's theory grew, Schnitzler maintained on the subject a running file of critical notes, which he occasionally considered publishing,<sup>8</sup> and that he corresponded with Freud over a period

<sup>4</sup> Oswald, p. 279, cites typical examples of this assumption.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Specht, *Arthur Schnitzler* (Berlin, 1922), 169.

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, Vol. X (1896), pp. 61 and 62-64. I have not been able to confirm Jethro Bithell's statement (*Modern German Literature*, London, 1946, 247) that Schnitzler "discussed" Freud's *Studien über Hysterie* (1895). The *Rundschau* review in Dec., 1896 is by Moriz Infeld.

<sup>7</sup> O. P. Schinnerer, "The Literary Apprenticeship of Arthur Schnitzler," *Germanic Review* V (1930), 78.

<sup>8</sup> O. P. Schinnerer, "Schnitzler's 'Nachlaß,'" *GR* VIII (1933), 119.

of years. In the 1920's he spoke knowingly of Freud's theories and called him a genius, but made a careful distinction between Freud's own views and "all the vagaries of his pupils" (Viereck, 399-400). It is thus certain that during most of his career Schnitzler was keenly interested in the steadily developing theory of psychoanalysis. Some influence of Freud's findings on Schnitzler's writings must therefore reasonably be assumed. The question is whether Schnitzler found in Freud key revelations, or principally confirmation — emboldening, to be sure — of his own insights.

This problem can very largely be resolved by a study of the works of the youthful Schnitzler, that is of the relatively little-known works written before Freud's first psychoanalytic publications, and in many cases before Freud's first groping investigations of psychology. Schnitzler was a highly precocious youth. His posthumous papers reveal that he began writing regularly, on his own initiative, at the age of nine. Among other things, a three hundred page novel dates from his fifteenth year, and a play in verse from his seventeenth. When at the age of thirty he published *Anatol*, he had already written roughly thirty plays and as many narrative works, plus "an incredible mass" of other works in every genre.<sup>9</sup> There is therefore no dearth of evidence of the nature of his insights before any possibility of Freudian influence or inspiration arises.

The critical date before which no such influence can be assumed is 1894. Before that year Freud's only remotely relevant publications (some of which Schnitzler reviewed favorably) were a few translations of works by Charcot and Bernheim on hypnotism, and the essay, "Über den psychischen Mechanismus hysterischer Phänomene" (1893, in collaboration with Breuer), describing a cure of hysteria by means of hypnosis. These publications all deal with a subject on which Schnitzler's technical knowledge was then at least the equal of Freud's. Schnitzler had himself specialized in the treatment of various neuroses by means of hypnotism in the late 1880's, and his only research article, "Über funktionelle Aphonie und deren Behandlung durch Hypnose und Suggestion" (*Internationale klinische Rundschau*, 10 Mar. through 7 April, 1889), anticipates Freud's first work on hypnotism and neurosis by four years. Whether Freud's essay "Die Abwehr-Neuropsychose" (1894), or Breuer and Freud's *Studien über Hysterie* (1895) — "the *fons et origo*" of psychoanalysis — could have given Schnitzler new insights is a question whose answer depends on highly controversial interpretations. At least these works represent a *terminus* before which no influence is possible.

It is no exaggeration to say that Schnitzler's work before 1894 shows all the convictions and insights which were later to be taken as evidence of Freud's influence. All the key concepts are clearly discern-

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*.

ible: the hidden depths of personality, the various levels of consciousness, the tyranny of the unconscious over the conscious, doubts as to the freedom of the will, the significance of dreams, the tremendous formative power of infantile experience, and the psychological importance of sex impressions. Whoever reads the early Schnitzler from the psychoanalytic viewpoint finds as much "Freudianism," in as clear a form, as in those later works that may, for all we know, actually have been influenced by Freud.

This fact, however, is more easily reported than proved. Psychoanalysis is a treacherous field for the seeker of generally acceptable truth. There is no agreement among psychologists on how much of Freud is new and true. Psychoanalytic critics like Reik and Sachs have, along with their valuable and interesting insights, a disturbing ability to make everything mean anything; in particular, the great importance necessarily attached by their method to apparently insignificant detail (see Reik, 2) opens the way to arbitrary and capricious interpretation. What is needed is objectively valid evidence of Schnitzler's anticipation of psychoanalytic principles — evidence which does not demand prior acceptance of the truth of those principles. A few of the early works do offer such evidence in a sufficiently unambiguous form.

The very heart of the problem is the theory of dreams, which Freud himself called "the most valuable of all the discoveries it has been my good fortune to make. Insight such as . . . falls to one's lot but once in a lifetime."<sup>10</sup> Schnitzler's awareness of this key theory is the most frequently cited evidence of his "Freudianism." By a lucky coincidence, however, one of the earliest stories offers unambiguous proof of Schnitzler's prior claim to this discovery. It is not merely another work capable — as indeed all literature seems to be — of psychoanalytic interpretation, but a work which demands such interpretation and is capable of no other. Schnitzler's unfinished sketch *Frühlingsnacht im Seziersaal* was written in 1880, twenty years before Freud's *Traumdeutung*. It is almost unknown, one of those literary exercises which he wrote for his own amusement, never to be published. Printed only from his posthumous papers, in the *Jahrbuch deutscher Bibliophilen*,<sup>11</sup> it verifies the author's later claim that he had anticipated Freud's most valuable discovery.

The narrator of the story, a medical student, is going home from a dance at three in the morning. Although physically exhausted he feels oddly elated by the sweetness of the mild spring air. Unexpectedly finding himself outside the dissection laboratory, he is seized by a curious impulse to enter and devote the rest of the night to the service

<sup>10</sup> Foreword to the third and subsequent English editions only of *Die Traumdeutung*: see *The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. A. A. Brill (New York, 1950).

<sup>11</sup> 18-19 Jahrgang (1932-33), pp. 86-91. Mr. Henry Schnitzler has been kind enough to verify the date of composition from his father's papers.

of science. In the presence of the corpses he sinks to a chair, overwhelmed by the sense of unreality produced by this picture of death so soon after the wild vitality of the dance. In the moonlight he sees the daughter of the *Anatomiediener* enter the room with one of his fellow students, Stephan Kalman. It suddenly occurs to him that Stephan has been more attentive to this girl than have the other students when, after classes, they pass her window above the dissection room. Stephan laughingly accuses him of being a grind, of wasting the precious hours of the spring night. Stephan and Christine proudly proclaim their love, dance gaily about the room, and stand in a long embrace. Music is heard, and a strange *Wanderer* leaps through the window with a violin; his wild fiery singing and playing sets all their senses whirling and the whole room to dancing. The lovers float and whirl through the room, kiss and sigh, in the perfumed flower-sea of the music. Suddenly there is a crash, the music stops, fiddle and bow drop, the *Wanderer* walks slowly out the door, and the lovers sink to the ground. In the morning the narrator is awakened by the girl's father and instantly screams at him in alarm, "Deine Tochter, Mensch!" The next day he observes Stephan and Christine closely, but they betray no special interest in each other. *Since that day the rumor has spread that he — the narrator — is in love with the girl!*

The number of familiar Schnitzler motifs in this five-page story by the youthful author is startling. The medical background, the *süße Mädel* (Christine!), the interplay and confusion of dream and reality, the probing of the unconscious, the significant juxtaposition of love and music and death, all are themes to which the mature Schnitzler returned again and again.

The most striking feature of the incident, however, is surely that, on the surface at least, it is pointless and meaningless. As in several later stories, Schnitzler casts his work in the form of a seemingly hopeless riddle. He enjoyed enigma. Elsewhere he tells, of a writer who shows some of Schnitzler's own characteristics, "Seine Reflexionen enden gewöhnlich mit einem Gedankenstrich, so ein Gedankenstrich, der zu einem spricht: Bitte sehr, setzen Sie jetzt diesen Gedanken fort, wenn Sie können!"<sup>12</sup> In this story reality passes imperceptibly into phantasy, and only at the end does the incident of the awakening confirm the possibility that it is all a dream.

Schnitzler, however, in whose temperament rationalism was perhaps the dominant quality, was not one to enjoy irrationalism for its own sake. The answer is, or was in 1880, that the point of the work is less the meaning of the dream than that the dream *has* a rational, discoverable meaning. This, however, is precisely the discovery upon which Freud came in his researches approximately fifteen years later, and which he

<sup>12</sup> "Er wartet auf den vazierenden Gott," *Die kleine Komödie*, (Berlin, 1932), 13.

published to a completely unprepared and unsympathetic world twenty years later, in 1900.<sup>13</sup> Indeed the precise day on which "the secret of the dream" revealed itself to Freud is a matter of record. On June 12, 1900, in a letter to his Berlin friend and confidant Wilhelm Fliess, Freud wrote, "Glaubst Du eigentlich, daß an dem Hause dereinst auf einer Marmortafel zu lesen sein wird? :

'Hier enthüllte sich am 24 Juli 1895 dem  
Dr. Sigm. Freud  
das Geheimnis des Traumes' "<sup>14</sup>

Freud's revelation came in connection with his own, now famous dream of that date. The nature of this momentous secret is italicized by Freud as the last and climactic sentence in his discussion of that epoch-making dream: ". . . *the dream can be recognized as a wish-fulfilment.*"<sup>15</sup> Further study produced the more accurate definition: "*a dream is the (disguised) fulfilment of a (repressed) wish.*" The most succinct explanation of this fuller concept is in Freud's own words. Through his investigations of the unconscious, he relates, "it became possible to prove that dreams have a meaning, and to discover it . . . [the latent, repressed thought] is found to be an impulse in the form of a wish, often of a very repellent kind. . . . This impulse is the actual constructor of the dream: it provides the energy for its production and makes use of the day's residues as material; the dream which thus originates represents a situation in which the impulse is satisfied, it is the fulfilment of the wish which the impulse contains. . . . Some [of the ego's repressive resistance] remains in the shape of a *censorship of dreams* and forbids the unconscious impulse to express itself in the forms which it would properly assume." Thus the forbidden meaning of the dream is rendered unrecognizable by the "*dream-distortion.*" It should further be remembered that the dream must be at the same time "a continuation of some preconscious activity of the day" preceding it;<sup>16</sup> and that "the majority of the dreams of adults deal with sexual material and give expression to erotic wishes."<sup>17</sup>

Freud's dream-theory solves Schnitzler's enigma. The key lies in the puzzling and irrelevant last line of the sketch. Nothing up to that point remotely suggests the basis for the subsequent rumor that the *narrator* is in love with the girl. The only explanation is that the rumor, as always with Schnitzler (see Reik, 36), is true: since the dream he is

<sup>13</sup> Freud gives a lengthy review of the history of dream interpretation in *Die Traumdeutung, Gesammelte Werke II-III* (London, 1942), 1-99; most of this material is omitted from the English translation. On the cold reception given his theory see *The Interpretation of Dreams* (New York, 1950), 6-7.

<sup>14</sup> Freud, *Aus den Anfängen der Psychoanalyse* (London, 1950), 344.

<sup>15</sup> *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 32.

<sup>16</sup> Freud, *An Autobiographical Study*, trans. James Strachey, 2nd ed. (London, 1946), 78-83.

<sup>17</sup> *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 267-268.

in love with Christine and his actions have betrayed it. Yet the story makes clear that until the dream he was unaware of this love, that the attraction was an unconscious one. Does the wild dance represent, as Freud says it must, the disguised fulfilment of a wish? Reik's analysis of other dreams (Reik, 217 ff.) have demonstrated Schnitzler's clear awareness of this principle. To his evidence must be added a passage from *Der Empfindsame* (1895), also antedating Freud's disclosure of the "secret": an unhappy woman who desperately longs for success on the stage reports, "Ich verbrachte schauerliche Nächte. Ich träumte von den Erfolgen meiner Kolleginnen. Weißt Du, was das bedeutet?" She had three such dream in one night! To be sure, the dreamer of *Frühlingsnacht* seems to play no part in his own dream. This is the essence of the enigma. Nevertheless, again according to Freud, "all dreams are absolutely egotistic. In cases where not my ego but only a strange person occurs in the dream-content, I may safely assume that by means of identification my ego is concealed behind that person."<sup>18</sup> The friend, Stephan, thus stands for the dreamer himself, or more accurately for the repressed sensuous side of his personality. (Schnitzler's *Aegidius*, written in the same year, deals with this theme: an ascetic monk suddenly realizes he is missing all the most precious things life has to offer.). The dream, then, fulfills the dreamer's repressed, unconscious wish to dance such a dance with Christine. Every reader of Freud or of Schnitzler will of course recognize the true erotic meaning of this dance:

Wild fuhr der Bogen über die Saiten . . . , da der Arm sich rasch bewegte . . . Und es baute sich Ton auf Ton und schienen die Laute ineinander zu fließen und rankten als blühende Melodie sich ans graue Gewölbe hinan. Das war ein jubelndes Ertönen, Widerhallen, und wie ein duftendes Blumenmeer umgab uns die Musik in umschmeichelnder Betäubung. Zu unseren Füßen wogte es dahin und blinkte, glitzerte, als gestaltete der Tanz sich zu sichtbarem Gold und das Liebespaar glitt dahin in wahnsinriger Verzückung. Da krachte es plötzlich und zur Erde nieder fiel Geige und Bogen . . . [The *Wanderer* disappears.] Christine aber und Stephan, die hochatmend und erhitzt ihm folgen wollten, sanken an der Schwelle nieder und hielten sich fest bei der Hand.<sup>19</sup>

Only if the incident is read in this light does it become meaningful. Every basic requirement of Freud's dream theory is fulfilled. The connection of the dream with the events of the preceding day is obviously represented in the amorous excitement of the preceding dancing party,

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 213.

<sup>19</sup> *Jahrbuch deutscher Bibliophilen* (1932-33), 89-90. In view of the exhaustive Freudian analyses of other Schnitzler dreams made by Reik, 217 ff., it is unnecessary to dwell on the unprovable, but to the psychoanalyst obvious meanings of details like the moving bow, the music, the dance, etc. Suffice it to observe that the same symbols recur in Schnitzler's post-Freudian dreams with the same apparent connotation.

where "der warme Duft von herzigen Mädchenlippen . . . im Wirbel des Tanzes übers Antlitz hauchte." The dreamer's unconscious love has been reinforced by the amorous feelings there aroused. The dream takes the form of a dance partly because the dreamer comes from a dance. The nature is now clear of the "strange" impulse which led him, after that stimulus, to the room beneath Christine's dwelling: it was not the conscious desire to dedicate the night to science, but the unconscious impulse toward the girl that led him on. It is significant that on arriving he made no move toward scientific work, but sat down and surrendered himself to a dream state. It was, of course, not Stephan but himself who had long been unusually attentive to the girl at the window. Yet while this dream corresponds to Freud's theory at every point, only one interpretive principle — that the dream is an egotistical wish-fulfillment — is required to make its meaning clear; and Schnitzler later repeatedly showed awareness of that principle.

It would, clearly, be possible to elaborate a Freudian interpretation of other points, particularly the striking juxtaposition of love and death.<sup>20</sup> I refrain because the interpretation thus far is inevitable, whereas the role of death, like that of many individual symbols, is perhaps obvious only to the convinced Freudians. There is of course no question that in this juxtaposition Schnitzler anticipates himself (*Sterben, Abschied, Die Toten schweigen, Blumen, Beatrice, Traumnovelle, etc.*) Whether he anticipates Freud, in the sense of a conscious symbolism, simply cannot be determined with certainty from the story. The probability that Schnitzler here records an actual dream cannot be overlooked. He was, like the hero of the story, a medical student at the time of writing. While still a student, and perhaps even before, he began recording his own dreams long before dreams interested Freud. Schnitzler's posthumous papers include over four hundred pages of his own dreams from the early 1880's to 1927 with interspersed interpretive remarks.<sup>21</sup> Indeed he stated himself that he found many of his plots in his own dreams (Viereck, 399). Even the famous proclamation of the importance of dreams in *Paracelsus* was written three years before Freud made his similar claim. A plausible guess is that Schnitzler actually had a similar dream and, just as Freud was later to do, perceived the hidden meaning. If so, the locale could conceivably be — though the chance is slight — purely accidental.

In view of all the facts, the clear statement of Freud's theory in this story assumes unusual importance. It is recorded by an independent psychologist whose work later startled Freud himself by its uncanny agreement with psychoanalytic concepts. Its author had developed,

<sup>20</sup> "The picture which life presents to us is the result of the working of Eros and the death-instinct together and against each other." (Freud, *Autobiography*, 105.) See also Otto Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (New York, 1945), 58.

<sup>21</sup> Schinnerer, "Schnitzler's 'Nachlaß,'" 121.

earlier than Freud, a scientific interest in the significance of dreams, and asserted his own priority in the discovery. Above all, there is nothing to the incident beyond the dream. Freud himself has, of course, examined earlier literary dreams and their varying artistic purpose, but Schnitzler's dream must have a discoverable rational meaning in itself or the sketch is utterly pointless. It seems necessary to conclude that Schnitzler recorded this dream in finished literary form because he perceived, through its disguise, the hidden meaning. And the Freudian meaning is unmistakably stated in the otherwise quite irrelevant last line. If further evidence were needed, Schnitzler has given it himself in *Der Schleier der Beatrice* (1899), written after Freud's first publications, but still before his *Traumdeutung* had revealed his "secret":

Doch Träume sind Begierden ohne Mut,  
Sind freche Wünsche, die das Licht des Tags  
Zurückjagt in die Winkel unsrer Seele,  
Daraus sie erst bei Nacht zu kriechen wagen.<sup>22</sup>

*Frühlingsnacht im Seziersaal* has a unique significance for the Freud-Schnitzler problem. It offers objective proof of Schnitzler's *conscious* anticipation of the psychoanalytic dream theory: Freud's theory, true or not, is clearly stated in the story. The *Traumdeutung*, moreover, is not one of those speculative essays at the periphery of psychoanalytic thought, but Freud's major work, his "most valuable discovery," the "*via regia* to the unconscious."<sup>23</sup> That Schnitzler had discovered and unlocked this gateway to depth psychology years before Freud approached it, strongly suggests that his total debt to Freud was small.

<sup>22</sup> Schnitzler, *Gesammelte Werke*, Zweite Abteilung, Band II (Berlin, 1918), 162. Reik, 219, calls attention to this important passage, but not to the significance of its date of composition. This may be because, though written in 1899, the play was published after Freud's *Traumdeutung* (1900).

<sup>23</sup> See *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 459, and A. A. Brill, *Freud's Contribution to Psychiatry* (New York, 1944), 40-41.

## GRILLPARZERS „LIBUSSA,“ SELBSTBEKENNTNIS UND KULTURKRITIK

FELIX M. WASSERMANN

*Kansas Wesleyan University*

„Wer handelt, geht oft fehl. — Auch wer betrachtet“: In diesen Worten der Auseinandersetzung Libussas mit ihrer Schwester steckt das eine Grundmotiv der Gedankendramen des reifen Grillparzer. Es ist bezeichnend für den Skeptiker, daß die Frage nach dem Vorzug des aktiven oder des kontemplativen Daseins negativ beantwortet wird: Schuld und Irrtum sind notwendige Begleiterscheinungen der menschlichen Existenz. Grillparzers Ideal ist die Stille und Tiefe zurückgezogenen Lebens. Aber die Unbefriedigung des Nichthandelns und ein scharfer Blick für die Dinge der Realität öffnen ihm die Augen für die Notwendigkeit und Würde auch des tätigen Lebens. Bei aller tragischen Weltsicht ist die *Libussa* nicht ohne einen Abglanz von resigniertem Optimismus. Trotz aller Visionen des kommenden Unheils bleibt die Hoffnung auf die Wiederkehr des „Reichs der Seher und Begabten.“

Die Hauptpersonen des Dramas spiegeln die drei Grundhaltungen und -stimmungen, die sich im Dichter selbst durchdringen. Das Ideal der sich dem Leben entziehenden Kontemplation erscheint in Libussas Schwestern Kascha und Tetka, die sich in die zeitlosen Gesetze der Natur und des Geistes versenken. Den Gegenpol bildet Primislau, zielbewußt und dem Heute zugewandt, voll Schaffenskraft und Schaffensfreude, zugleich Führer und Diener der staatlichen Gemeinschaft — ein geheimes Wunschbild Grillparzers. In der Mitte steht Libussa. Wie ihr Dichter gehört sie beiden Welten an. Ihr Gefühl wurzelt in dem vorgeschiedlich mythischen Reich ihrer Schwestern, aber Verstand und Wille nehmen teil an dem der Gegenwart und Zukunft dienenden Werk ihres Gatten. Während die Schwestern und Primislau ohne Frage und Zweifel einer bestimmten Bahn folgen, ist sie gespalten. Ihre Größe und ihre Tragik ist ihr die Grenzen des Menschentums übersteigender Versuch, das Reich der Schau mit dem der Tat zu verbinden. Es ist die Antinomie des Tragischen, daß ihr irdisches Dasein daran zerbrechen muß und doch ihr Segen als Gegenkraft gegenüber den Dämonen der entgötterten Fortschrittwelt bleibt.

Im Gegensatz zum *Bruderzwist* und der *Jüdin von Toledo* ist in der *Libussa* das Mythisch-Symbolische stärker betont als die psychologische Realität des individuellen Charakters. Nur in Primislau ist der Ausgleich von Sinnbild, Typ und Persönlichkeit durchgeführt. Grillparzers tiefer und objektiver Blick in die Kräfte seiner Zeit sieht nicht nur, wie etwa Kierkegaard, Tocqueville, Burckhardt und Dostojewski, die Brüchigkeit des Fortschrittglaubens; in seinem Primislau gestaltet er auch die Möglichkeiten menschlicher Größe im Rahmen der Ideen des 19. Jahr-

hunderts. Es ist dieselbe positive Haltung zur neuen Zeit, wie sie etwa aus Goethe's *Vermächtnis in den Wanderjahren* spricht.

Primislau kommt aus der bodenverwurzelten Tradition unabhängigen Bauerntums, aus einem einfachen und zurückgezogenen Leben, das aber zugleich ein Leben harter Arbeit ist. Grüblerische Schau und Buchwissen — so bedeutsam für Grillparzer — sind ihm fern: „Ich kann nicht lesen — in Büchern nicht, allein in Mienen wohl.“ Sein Blick ist klar auf die Aufgabe des Tages gerichtet, gleich frei von Zukunftsträumen wie der Bindung an die geschichtliche Vergangenheit:

Was heut', war gestern morgen — und wird morgen  
Ein Gestern sein. Wer klar das Heut' erfaßt,  
Erkennt die Gestern alle und die Morgen.

Als ein Mann, der sein Gewicht in sich hat, ist er zugleich stolz und bescheiden. Noch ein Bauer, begegnet er den Adligen als ein Gleicher. Selbst Libussa, die Herrscherin, findet hinter seiner Höflichkeit und Bescheidenheit den unbeugsamen Mannestolz. Er unterdrückt seine Liebe, solange er befürchtet, von Libussa nur als Untertan angesehen zu werden, bis sie selbst im Kampf ihrer eigenen Liebe mit ihrem Stolz ihm als dem einzigen wirklichen Mann ihre Hand und ihre Herrschaft übergibt. Er bleibt derselbe als Herr, der er als Bauer war. Frei von der Arroganz des Neuaufgestiegenen, kennt er keinen Ehrgeiz als den der Leistung.

Er ist eine der besten Verkörperungen, die der Geist des 19. Jahrhunderts in seinen Zielen wie in seinen Grenzen in der Dichtung gefunden hat. Ernst, nüchtern und verantwortungsbewußt, vertritt er die Ideen von Recht und Ordnung, von Fortschritt und rastloser Arbeit. Frei von Hochmut wie von Demut, weiß er, daß er sich selbst verdankt, was er ist: „Dem Zufall dank' ich nichts, noch eines Menschen Gnade.“ Er ist der Mann, der „prüft und untersucht“, ein Hort aller bürgerlichen Tugenden: „Vorwärts schreiten, denken, schaffen, wirken.“ Er ist das liberale Ideal des konstitutionellen Monarchen, versetzt in eine mythische Vergangenheit: „Wir wollen weiter . . . , ich und mein Volk, als Bürger und als Menschen.“ Ein Spiegel von Grillparzers konservativem Humanismus, wendet er sich gegen die Pöbelanarchie der Revolution wie gegen die „unnahbare Abgetrenntheit“ der — im alten Österreich so maßgebenden — Kreise, die „das Gewohnte, weil es doch bequem . . . , für ewige Zeit bewahren.“ Er hat zwar kein eigensüchtiges Interesse an Geld und Besitz; aber — im Sinn des Jahrhunderts — sieht er doch im steigenden materiellen Wohlstand der Gemeinschaft ein Hauptziel seiner Herrschaft:

Das Edle selbst, das wohltut höherm Sinn,  
Weist er zurück und duldet das Gemeine,  
Wenn allgemein der Nutzen und die Frucht.

Die unberührte Natur weicht dem Holzfäller und dem Bergmann. Es

ist ganz im Sinn der neuen Zeit, wenn er sein Werk krönt mit der Gründung der Stadt Prag. Sie entsteht gerade an der Stelle, die Libussas Schwestern sich als Stätte weltferner Beschaulichkeit ausgesucht hatten, als Sinnbild des Siegs des verstädterten „Zeitalters von Erwerb und Verkehr“ über das zeitlos natur- und geistverbundene Dasein.

„Gerecht sein gegen sich und gegen andre,“ ist sein Grundsatz der Staats- und Menschenführung. Im Gegensatz zu dem aufgeklärten Absolutismus des Metternichschen Österreich — dessen Haltung sonst bei Grillparzer manchen Anklang findet — sieht Primislaus in seinem Volk nicht Untertanen, sondern Bürger. Sie sind nicht nur passive Objekte seiner Fürsorge, sondern zu aktiver Teilnahme am Aufbau des Staats mit Rat und Tat berufen:

Nicht nur den eignen Nutzen liebt der Mensch,  
Die eigne Meinung hat ihm gleichen Wert,  
Er hilft dir gern, sieht er im Werk das seine.

Solche Gedanken erinnern nicht nur von ungefähr an die Anschauungen, die in denselben Jahrzehnten in der Neuen Welt zur Grundlage Lincolnscher Demokratie wurden. Diese betonte Heranziehung des Bürgers zur Mitarbeit am Staat spiegelt Grillparzers eigene Erfahrung in den Beschränkungen des Polizeistaats:

Wenn wir das Ganze besser überschaun,  
Verstehn die einzelnen, was einzeln besser

Aber hinter dem Preis des Bürgers steht, als Erbe von Grillparzers klassischer und katholischer Tradition, die Würde des Menschen als Menschen:

Das Höchste, wie beschränkt auch, ist der Mensch,  
Im König selbst der Mensch zuletzt das Beste.

Als der erste seiner Gleichen verkörpert Primislaus Grillparzers Ideal von Ordnung und Güte. Ruhig und gelassen, ist er kein wilder Reformer. Bei aller praktischen Energie spiegelt er den christlichen Humanismus des Dichters in seinem Wissen um die metaphysische Verwurzelung alles menschlichen Daseins:

Schlecht ist der Ackermann, der seine Frucht  
Von Pflug und Karst, von seinem Mühn erwartet  
Und Licht und Sonne, was von oben kommt,  
Nicht als die Krone achtet seines Tuns.  
Er wirkt der Mensch, der Himmel aber segnet.

Primislaus selbst ist ja Herr des Landes als Gatte der aus der übergeschichtlichen und überstaatlichen Sphäre kommenden Libussa, und es ist am Ende ihr Segen, der seiner Gründung Dauer verleiht. Seine Erfülltheit mit dem tätigen Leben trennt ihn von ihr; aber in seinem stillen, vornehmen, geraden Wesen steht er ihr nah, wie in seinem letzten Ziel, dem Wohl der Allgemeinheit. Sein extravertierter Typ ergänzt ihren intravertierte zu vollem Menschentum.

Wenn Primislaus Grillparzers Wunschbild praktischer Lebenstüchtigkeit zum Ausdruck bringt, erscheint in Libussas Schwestern die grüblerisch weltflüchtige Seite seines Wesens. Kascha und Tetka sind mehr Sinnbilder als Personen. Sie wollen nichts wissen von der Teilnahme an der staatlichen Gemeinschaft, wo die natürliche Einheit sich zerstückt im Kampf der Möglichkeiten und Entscheidungen:

Was sein soll, ist nur eins,  
Was sein kann, ist ein Vieles;  
Ich aber will sein einig und eins.

Aus der Welt des Nutzens und der Wahl flüchten sie in das ewige Sein des Kosmos: „Unter Sternen schweif' ich, in der Tiefe walt' ich.“ Aus ihren Worten klingt Grillparzers Empfindlichkeit gegenüber seiner kleinlichen Umwelt:

Wer nicht Mensch sein will, schwach und klein,  
Der halte sich von Menschennähe rein.

Diese Zurückgezogenheit bedeutet nicht Haß; als sie am Ende mit der sterbenden Libussa von hinten wandern, lassen auch sie ihre goldenen Gürtel als Symbol künftigen Segens zurück.

Aus ihrem Munde kommt manches von Grillparzers konservativer Weisheit; die *Libussa* ist ja wie der *Bruderzwist* sein letztes weltanschauliches Bekenntnis, und die gleichzeitigen Tagebücher und Gedichte bieten laufend Parallelen. Hier haben wir seine Antwort auf die Mißdeutung des Ideals der Freiheit durch die liberalen Zeitgenossen:

Wer seine Schranken kennt, der ist der Freie,  
Wer frei sich wähnt, ist seines Wahnes Knecht.

— Worte in denen Goethes Sprache und Geist nachklingen. Trotz Grillparzers persönlicher Abneigung gegen Metternich — in dessen „System“ doch so manches von seinen eigenen politischen Gedanken steckte — treffen wir auch hier die Idee von der „weisen Nötigung“ und der „Ehrfurcht, die nicht auf Erweis sich gründet.“ Es ist das Prinzip des autoritären Staates: „Der Fragen viel erspart die feste Antwort.“ Und dem Freiheitsgeschrei der Zeit gilt Kaschas Warnung:

Daß einer herrsche, ist des Himmels Ruf,  
Weil zum Gehorsam er die Menschen schuf.

Hier hören wir denselben Grillparzer, für den Metternich bei späterem Rückblick „bei allen seinen Fehlern doch noch der einzige war, der Kopf und Energie gehabt hätte, dem Fortrollen Maß und Ziel zu setzen.“ Dem einseitigen Urteil des praktischen Menschen muß diese konservative Haltung als „unfruchtbare Sinnen“ erscheinen und als eigensüchtiger Stolz, „nur hoch, weil andre niedrig und beschränkt.“ So ist es natürlich, daß für die Schwestern kein Platz ist in Primislaus' neuem Staat.

In Libussa selbst treffen sich die beiden scheinbar unvereinbaren Lebensformen der Schau und der Tat. Sie ist bald lebendige Gestalt des Dichters Grillparzer, bald Sinnbild und Sprachrohr des Denkers. Sie trägt, nicht immer ausgeglichen noch ausgleichbar, zugleich Züge

des 19. Jahrhunderts und der mythischen Vorzeit. So ist das witzige Rätselspiel mit Libussas Gürtel als einem — auch bühnenwirksamen — Mittel der Gattenwahl die Weiterbildung eines alten Märchenmotivs, vertieft durch das Wissen eines großen Dichters um den Doppelsinn der Sprache. Auf der anderen Seite hören wir aus demselben Mund die realistisch gegenwartsnahe Vorschau der abendländischen Krise. In dieser widerspruchsvollen Vielfältigkeit ist Libussa eine Selbstdarstellung des Dichters, dessen Interesse sowohl dem Liebesspiel wie dem Staatsdenken gehört. Während die Schwestern wie Primislau ohne inneren Konflikt ganz dem eigenen Lebenkreis angehören, ist Libussa, wie ihr Dichter, zugleich Brücke und Kampfplatz zwischen den beiden Welten. Wohl zerbricht ihre irdische Existenz an der Unmöglichkeit, die beiden zu versöhnen; aber ihr Segen und ihr Glaube: „Der Mensch ist gut,“ bleiben als ihr Vermächtnis.

Wie ihre Schwestern kommt sie aus dem Reich des Mythos als Tochter des Königs und der göttlichen Mutter. Aber die Begegnung mit dem Bauern Primislau und der Aufenthalt in seiner Hütte erweckt in ihr — als Tochter ihres Vaters — den Zweifel am Sinn eines nur kontemplativen Lebens und den Wunsch, „mit Menschen Mensch zu sein.“ Wie Platons Philosophen geht sie den Weg aus der Welt der reinen Schau in die Höhle der Unbegnadeten. Nach dem Tod des Vaters übernimmt sie die von den Schwestern abgelehnte Herrschaft, nicht aus Ehrgeiz, sondern aus Pflichtgefühl:

Hier ist von Wollen nicht,  
Von Müssen ist die Rede und von Pflicht.

Ihr Schritt, einmal getan, erlaubt keine Rückkehr, da sie selbst durch die Berühring mit der Welt eine andere geworden ist. Die unvermeidbaren Enttäuschungen mögen wohl negativ zur Weltflucht führen, aber nicht positiv zur Wiederherstellung des einmal gestörten inneren Gleichgewichts. So sieht es die weise Schwester:

Die Spuren ihres Wirkens . . . ,  
Sie folgen künftig ihr, wohin sie geht . . .

Sie kann nicht mehr zu uns zurück, denn, störend  
Und selbst gestört, zerstörte sie den Kreis.

Libussa hofft zunächst mit der tragischen Blindheit des Idealisten, die Gesellschaft nach ihrem Bild zu gestalten und nach dem strengen Regiment des Vaters ein Reich des „kindlichen Vertrauens“ zu errichten. Aber sie muß lernen, daß das Volk selbst eine auf männlicher Führung beruhende und das Recht statt der Gnade und Liebe betonende Staatsordnung vorzieht. Aus den Worten ihrer Enttäuschung spricht Grillparzers scharfer Blick hinter die glänzende Fassade der zeitgenössischen Schlagworte: Freiheit, Gleichheit und Recht:

Von allen Worten, die die Sprache nennt,  
Ist keins mir so verhaßt als das von Recht.

Ich sehe übrall Gnade, Wohltat nur  
In allen, was das All für alle füllt.

Daß du dem Dürft'gen hilfst, den Bruder liebst,  
Das ist dein Recht, vielmehr ist deine Pflicht,  
Und Recht ist nur der ausgeschmückte Name  
Für alles Unrecht, das die Erde hegt.

Der an sich gleichgültige Streit zwischen zwei von Libussas Bauern, der der Anlaß dieser Worte ist, zeigt Grillparzers Nachdenken über die Notwendigkeit wie die Problematik dieses dynamischen und vieldeutigen Grundbegriffs der mit dem Eigensinn und dem Eigennutz der Einzelnen belasteten menschlichen Gesellschaft. So sehr der Humanist Grillparzer jeder Unordnung widerstrebt, so ist er doch auch mißtrauisch gegen den Staat und sein „Recht, das Recht zugleich und Unrecht.“

Ein Ausweg scheint sich zu bieten, als Libussa in Primislaus einen Gatten für sich und einen Herrn für das Land findet. Bisher hat sie trotz ihrer Tätigkeit für ihr Volk an der Einsamkeit des — wie der Dichter selbst — aus einer höheren Sphäre Niedergestiegenen gelitten:

Wer einsam wirkt, spricht in ein leeres All,  
Was Antwort schien, ist eigner Widerhall.

Jetzt nimmt ihr Primislaus die Organisation des Staates und die Führung der Menschen ab. Sie wirkt durch ihn, der trotz aller Ge-genwartsnähe in ihr das höhere Wesen sieht und respektiert. Die verant-wortungsfreie Versenkung in die ewigen Dinge — „Wir pflückten ab die Blumen alles Guten“ — tritt jetzt zurück hinter der Befriedigung, ein helfendes Glied der Gemeinschaft zu sein: „Es ist so schön für andere zu leben.“ Aber gerade ihr betontes Bemühen, sein Werk wenig-stens mit ihrer Gegenwart zu fördern, verrät die inneren Hemmungen:

Ich will nicht nutzlos sein im Kreis der Dinge.  
Kann ich nicht wirken in der Zeit, die neu,  
So will ich segnen.

Sie ist der tragische Mensch einer Zeitenwende. Sie will die neue Ord-nung verstehen, doch bleibt ihre Natur trotz allen Interesses an den Menschen dem äußeren Leben im letzten fremd. Ein Abbild des Dich-ters, steht sie zwischen dem Reich des Seins und dem Reich des Wer-dens, in keinem wirklich zuhause. Es ist der innere Zwiespalt, den Grillparzer mit anderen Staatsdenkern seines Jahrhunderts, wie Tocque-ville und Burckhardt, teilt, die Verbindung konservativer Weltanschau-ung mit Aufgeschlossenheit für die notwendigen Forderungen und Neue- rungen der Zeit.

Bei aller persönlichen Wertschätzung und bei aller Gemeinsamkeit in der vornehmen Auffassung des Herrscheramts bleibt doch eine tiefe Dissonanz zwischen Libussa und ihrem Gatten. Sie glaubt an das natur-verbunden Gewachsene, er an die Gestaltung der Gesellschaft und die Bändigung der Natur durch unermüdliches Eingreifen. Wenn sie das

Glück in selbstzufriedener Genügsamkeit sieht, heißt es für ihn: „Befriedigt ist das Tier nur und der Weise“: ist doch der dauernde Fortschritt das Glaubensbekenntnis der neuen Zeit. Auch wenn sie seinem stolzesten Werk, der Gründung der Stadt der Schwelle, Prag, ihren Segen gibt, geschieht es ohne seinen zukunftsrohen Glauben an die städtische Existenz als Ziel der menschlichen Entwicklung:

Und fürchtest du denn nicht, daß deine Mauern,  
Den Menschen trennend vom lebend'gen Anhauch  
Der sprossenden Natur, ihn minder fühlend  
Und minder einig machen mit dem Geist des All?

Das sind dieselben Bedenken gegen die beginnende Verstädterung, wie sie andere klarsichtige Unzeitgemäße, wie J. Burckhardt, ein großer Verehrer Grillparzers, hatten. Primislaus ist der Gründer des neuen städtischen Gemeinwesens; aber erst Libussas Worte, in denen sich Segen und visionäre Warnung vor der Zukunft durchdringen, machen Prag zur zweiten kaiserlichen Stadt des Habsburgerreiches; es ist das Prag Rudolfs II., das den schicksalsträchtigen Hintergrund bildet für den *Bruderzwist*, das Gegenstück zur *Libussa*. Als Libussa, gleichsam ein Gründungsopfer für die neue Stadt, von 'hinnen scheidet, hinterläßt sie in dem Sohn, den sie Primislaus geboren, ihrer beider Erben und einen Ahnherrn auch der österreichischen Dynastie.

Libussas Zukunftschau in der Stunde ihres Abschieds ist zugleich Grillparzers eigenes Testament, in der Verbindung von Metaphysik und Realismus eine Ergänzung zu den Warnungen im *Bruderzwist*. Es ist eine den Leser des 20. Jahrhunderts unheimlich gegenwartsnah anmutende Vorahnung des zu moralischem und sozialem Chaos führenden „Fortschritts“ einer entgötterten natur- und traditionsentfremdeten Zeit:

Es lösen sich der Wesen alte Bande,  
Zum Ungemeßnen wird, was hold begrenzt.

Dieser „Verlust der Mitte“ ist das Thema eines bedeutsamen Fragments aus dem Jahr 1855 (*Tageb. 4098*), das den Eindruck macht, als sei es zur Einfügung in die *Libussa* oder den *Bruderzwist* geschrieben:

Es steht nicht gut in unsrer lauten Welt.  
Die Kräfte, die im Ebenmaß verteilt,  
Das Ganze hielten streng im Gleichgewicht,  
Sie drängen sich gesamt nach e i n e m Punkt,  
Der umschlägt, überfüllt, sieht man nicht vor.

Auch Grillparzers Gedichte aus diesen Jahren warnen vor dem Tempo der neuen Zeit als ein Gegenstück zu der konservativen Kulturkritik etwa eines Gotthelf oder Burckhardt: „Der Gang der Welt ist nicht so rasch, als Torheit meint und spricht,“ („Fortschritt,“ 1839); „ . . . Da mahnt denn alle Welt zum Wirken, Handeln“ („Hamlet,“ 1842); „ . . . Wohlan, werft um, reißt ein, macht euch nur laut, verkennt der Gottheit stillgeschäftgen Finger“ („Der Reichstag,“ 1849). Dasselbe grandios düstere Bild begegnet uns in den Visionen Libussas, die die

Gefährdung des Daseins durch die sich ergänzenden Extreme anarchischer Richtungslosigkeit und des totalitären Staates vorwegnehmen,

. . . der jedes Einzelne in sich verschlingt,  
Statt Gut und Böse Nutzen wägt und Vorteil  
Und euren Wert abschätzt nach seinem Preis.

Der Verlust aller über Macht und Nutzen hinausweisenden Werte – auch das sieht der Dichter der *Libussa* mit prophetischem Blick – führt vom halbgebildeten Rationalismus zur gefährlichen Dynamik des lauten und leeren Schlagworts und vom Schlagwort zum Glaubenskrieg der Ideologien:

Was du Empfindung wähnst, ist nur Gedanke,  
Und der Gedanke schrumpft dir ein zum Wort,  
Und um des Wortes willen wirst du hassen,  
Verfolgen, töten . . .

Die Meinung wird dann wüten und der Streit.

Am Ende steht der Sieg der schlauen Gemeinheit, verbrämt mit den schönen Worten des Jahrhunderts:

Und Freiheit wird sich nennen die Gemeinheit,  
Als Gleichheit brüsten sich der dunkle Neid.

Es ist das Schreckbild vom Aufstand der Massen und vom Vordringen des Gemeinen: „Krieg jedem Vorzug heißt das Losungswort.“ Nichts bleibt als die Selbstvergötterung des Ichs:

Da du solange dich in Gott gedacht,  
Denkst du zuletzt den Gott nur noch in dir.  
Der eigne Nutzen wird dir zum Altar.

Und wieder nehmen Libussas Worte Burckhardtsche Gedanken vorweg, wenn sie vom Scheintriumpf der Technik spricht in einer Welt, wo Schlauheit den Platz der Weisheit eingenommen hat:

Durch unbekannte Meere wirst du schiffen,  
Ausbeuten, was die Welt an Nutzen trägt,  
Und allverschlingend sein, vom All verschlungen.

Die innere Gefährdung des modernen Menschen, der seine Seele der Macht über die Dinge geopfert hat, ist nie besser zum Ausdruck gebracht worden:

. . . an die Grenzen seiner Macht gelangt,  
Von allem Meister, was dem Dasein not . . .

Wird er die Leere fühlen seines Innern.

Das „Getöse des lauten Tags“ kann die zwischen einem Übermaß an Energie und einem Mangel an innerem Gewicht haltlos umhergeworfene Zeit nicht retten vor dem Fluch, den Grillparzers Jahrhundert an das unsere weitergeben sollte: „Im Drang der Kraft Bewußtsein eigner Ohnmacht.“

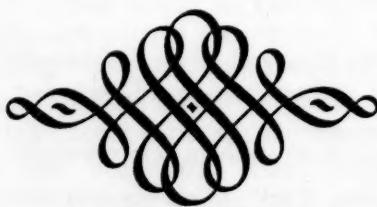
Grillparzer ist zu sehr christlicher Humanist, um diese pessimistische Schau nicht durch die Hoffnung auf die endliche Überwindung der Krise durch ein neues Reich, wenn auch in ferner Zukunft, zu ergänzen. Schon Libussas Segen weist in diese Richtung. Sie, die nur „geliehen war . . . und nicht geschenkt,“ verläßt eine durch eigene Unzulänglichkeit gefährdete Welt; doch bleiben die goldenen Ketten der drei Schwestern und die daraus zu schmiedende Krone als ein Sinnbild für die Zukunft: „Das Hohe schied, sein Zeichen sei hienieder.“ Hinter der geschichtlichen Zeit, in der die Völker Europas nacheinander die Herrschaft ergreifen, mit dem Reich der Slaven am Ende — dem Österreicher Grillparzer liegt das Verständnis für die Zukunftsmöglichkeiten der slavischen Welt ja nahe — kehren die Götter und das Reich des Geistes wieder. Das im Zeitalter des Fortschritts und der Technik an den Nutzen gebundene Wissen wird wieder frei; der engstirnig nüchterne Verstandeskult wird den Mächten jenseits des klug Berechenbaren wieder ihren Platz einräumen. Aus der anthropozentrischen Überheblichkeit kehrt der Mensch zum Bewußtsein seiner geistigen, nicht nur technischen Existenz zurück:

Die Götter wohnen wieder in der Brust,  
Und Demut heißt ihr oberer und Einer.

Grillparzer war sich bewußt, daß in der *Libussa* wie in den anderen gedankentiefen und seinem Gefühl nach nie zum Abschluß gekommenen Werken seiner Reife Logos und Mythos sich durchdringen:

Ich aber rede Wahrheit, Wahrheit, nur verhüllt  
In Gleichen und in selbstgeschaffnes Bild.

Es ist die Wahrheit, wie sie in diesen Jahren ein anderer, Grillparzer durch Abkunft und Geist nahestehender Kämpfer gegen die Auflösung der überkommenen Werte, Adalbert Stifter, als das Bekenntnis des konservativen Humanisten in die Worte faßte: „Ich bin ein Mann des Maßes und der Freiheit.“



## NEWS AND NOTES

† DR. EDMUND E. MILLER. Dr. Edmund E. Miller, Director of the European Program of the University of Maryland, died of heart failure at his home in Heidelberg, Germany, on January 29, 1953.

Dr. Miller was an outstanding authority on European study programs, and for the past year had been head of the University of Maryland's 93 centers scattered over Germany, France, Great Britain, and North Africa.

Dr. Miller was born in Painesville, Ohio, on May 8, 1900. He graduated from Washington Missionary College in 1923 and then spent several years in study abroad at Tuebingen and Heidelberg, as well as in Spain. He took his Master's Degree at Maryland in 1929 and his doctorate at Johns Hopkins in 1933. He taught in the language department of St. Johns College and in the universities of Delaware and Maryland. For two years during World War II he served as Field Director in the American Red Cross.

Dr. Miller had the strong conviction that as many Americans as possible should avail themselves of the benefits of study abroad in order to become acquainted with Europeans and their ideas. He translated this belief into action by organizing the German Junior Year in Munich, 1935 to 1939, and after the war in Zurich from 1945 to 1950. From 1947 to 1950 he was Director of the Graduate Year Abroad, organized under the auspices of the University of Maryland in Paris and Zurich. From 1950 on he was with the University of Maryland European Program, which offers university courses to officers and enlisted men abroad.

Dr. Miller is survived by his wife, Mrs. Emmy Miller, who remains in Heidelberg.

HERMANN BROCH.<sup>1</sup> Hermann Broch ist heute unter uns und wir sind alle hier in seinem Namen und in seinem Geiste versammelt. Seit einigen Wochen ist er mir wieder in doppelter Erscheinung nahe gekommen. Als ich von den Vorbereitungen für diese Feier hörte und als ich fast gleichzeitig seine letzte Schrift öffnete, die Einleitung zu der englischen Ausgabe von Hofmannsthals Prosa, die in New York erschienen war. Gerade in diesen Räumen hatte ich einige Male um die Gestalt Hofmannsthals mit ihm gekämpft, die ihn so beunruhigte, weil sie ihm so nahe war und doch wieder durch so vieles getrennt. Der Österreicher in ihm verstand den Österreicher, der Meister den Meister. Und doch häuften sich auch wieder so viele Verbote zwischen ihm und dem „Wunderkind“ und Verwöhnten, der in der Welt bei aller Scheu so sicher zu Hause war! Zu sicher, fand Broch. Aber im intimen geistigen Konnex (erlauben Sie mir, da es sich um Österreicher handelt, den

<sup>1</sup> Ansprache zur Feier des 66. Geburtstages von Hermann Broch, gehalten am 1. November, 1952, in den Räumen der Deutschen Sammlung der Yale University, wo Brochs Nachlaß jetzt gehütet wird.

Gebrauch von Fremdwörtern) ergab er sich mehr und mehr den Forderungen und Launen dessen, der ihm doch als ein Großer erschien.

Und so endlich hat Broch auch ihn geliebt und dem Abgelehnten und Angezweifelten sein Herz geöffnet. Es wurde ihm nicht leicht, Brochs Geist war kritisch und durchaus subtil. Subtilität überhaupt war sein Merkzeichen; keine Spitzfindigkeit, sondern ein feines Werten, das ihm völlig natürlich war.

Hier unter uns Lehrern im German Department, die wir eine Gruppe von Amerikanern reichsdeutscher Ahnenschaft bilden, erschien er durchaus als Österreicher, als eine Inkarnation des alten Österreich, das viele aus dem Norden und Westen Deutschlands mit so vergeblicher und mißverstehender Liebe verehrt haben. Vor 150 Jahren hatte der große österreichische Staatsmann Graf Philipp Stadion einmal eine „Österreichische Bibliothek“ ins Leben gerufen, eine Reihe von Büchern, in denen er das wertvollste Kulturgut sammeln und erhalten wollte. „Es war schwer“, heißt es in der *Berührung der Sphären*, „gerade für Österreich diese Aufgabe zu übernehmen, denn es ist etwas Stummes um Österreich. Es ist vieles da und dort, worauf Worte nur selten hindeuten, etwas Wesenhaftes und Unverbrauchtes.“ „Das Kostbarste zwischen den Menschen und den Österreichern insbesondere ist das Unausgesprochene und das was ausgesprochen wird, ist nicht immer das Beste.“

So war Hermann Broch ein Gast unter uns, der dieses Unausgesprochene recht eigentlich verkörperte. Während wir andern uns im häufigen Kontakt wohl kannten, unsere Wünsche, Mittel, Hoffnungen und Ziele uns nicht zweifelhaft waren, blieb Broch der Rätselhafte. Jedes Gespräch mit ihm, wenn er kam, was er nicht selten tat, oder wenn man ihn besuchte, wozu man viel zu selten die Zeit sich nahm, enthielt eine erregende Enthüllung, gab neue Ausblicke und ließ etwas ahnen von dem Besonderen, Unausgesprochenen und wohl auch nicht Aussprechbaren, das Österreich gebar und enthielt und von dem er etwas in seinem ganzen Wesen in sich trug.

Manchmal schien es fremd und fern, und dann wieder vertraut und nah. Wie Graf Philipp Stadion selbst, der österreichische Patriot, war Broch keineswegs ein originaler Österreicher. Stadion entstammte einer schwäbisch-elsässischen Familie, deren Stammschloß Warthausen bei Biberach am Südhang der Rauen Alb liegt. Aber Graf Stadion wie Broch und manche andere waren gezeichnet von einem alten Element, das langsam sich diesem Boden assimiliert hatte: dem Imperialen. Zu lange hatte das alte Römische Reich auf diesem Boden seine Hauptstadt und sein Zentrum gefunden. Auch als das saftige Fruchtfleisch abgefallen war, hielt der Kern und strahlte seine Substanz aus. Aus dieser Substanz, diesem Wissen um das Imperium und seinen Dichter, den Geist, den Triumph und die Gefährdung, den Adel und die animalische Basis dieses Herrschaftlichen, das ein Geistiges noch viel mehr als ein Materielles bedeutet, schuf Broch seinen *Tod des Vergil*. Ein klassisches Buch, nicht nur weil es um klassische Gestalten gebaut ist und eine Togabekleidete Gestalt auf dem Umschlag prangt — klassisch weil es das alte Europa in seinen Grundlagen heraufbeschwört, weil es an Umfang und Gewicht äußerlich wie innerlich das Außerordentliche, Überragende

und Einmalige darstellt, die Meisterschaft der Farben- und Lautgebung, der Seelenschilderung und Massenbewegung, der subtilen Dialektik und der instinktiven Symbolfindung — und zu diesem letzten Punkt ließe sich manches noch bemerken.

Aber ich möchte nur noch etwas sagen vom rein Sprachlichen, von der Herrlichkeit des Satzes, der, ohne sich zu verlieren, sicher geführt, über Seiten geht und erst endet, wenn der Gedanke zu Ende ist. Der Satz hier ist nicht willkürlich zerschnitten, sondern er bildet eine weite geistige Klammer, die einen unerhörten Reichtum von Aussage hütet und umfaßt. Diese Sätze sind imperial in ihrer römischen Welträumigkeit und österreichisch in der Melodie ihrer Kadenz: „Stahlblau und leicht, bewegt von einem kaum merkbaren Gegenwind“ wie die Wellen des Adriatischen Meeres, mit denen das Buch seinen Anfang nimmt, weit und tief, wie der Okeanos der Unendlichkeit, mit dem es schließt. So wie diese beiden Meere des Anfangs und des Endes sind seine Perioden beschaffen, stählern schimmernd und doch leicht und ein jeder in seiner Vorwärtsbewegung gehemmt von einem leisen, kaum merklichen Gegenwind, der ihn mit Spannung erfüllt und seine Oberfläche bewegt.

Die guten Geister im Märchen werden erst erkannt, wenn sie gewichen sind, wenn die Verarmung da ist und der farblose Alltag die Zurückgebliebenen umfaßt. Wir waren noch auf lange Jahre seiner Gegenwart gefaßt — er plante ja sehr alt zu werden — und waren nicht gierig genug auf die Stunden der Erscheinung. Wieviele Augenblicke haben wir nicht verschwendet! Nur zwei Jahre waren ihm und uns hier geschenkt. Jetzt bleibt uns nichts, als den sorgsam gesammelten Nachlaß zu hüten und uns zu erinnern. Immer wieder an Worte, Sätze, Bewegungen und vor allem an den Ausdruck dieses Gesichts, das wir in Metall jetzt ehren und bewahren. Für Spätere wird es das Muster eines geistigen und schöpferischen Kopfes bleiben in der Monumentalität seiner letzten Erscheinung. Für uns wird es, wenn wir still davor stehen, immer wieder zu sprechen beginnen, so lange wir uns selbst noch in diesen Räumen bewegen.

*Yale University.*

*—Curt von Faber du Faur*

**CSMLA MEETING IN MILWAUKEE.** The Central States Modern Foreign Language Association will meet on May 1 and 2, 1953, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The meetings will be held in the Plankinton Hotel, a short distance from the Milwaukee Road Station and a block from Wisconsin Avenue, the main business and theater center. This is the first time in the annals of the Central States Association (16 states and the city of Chicago) that a meeting will be held in Milwaukee. A second meeting will be held in Cincinnati, Ohio, on April 10 and 11.

**U. W. BULLETIN REISSUED.** The University of Wisconsin bulletin *The Study of Foreign Languages Today* has been reissued in response to the great demand for the first printing. Single copies may be obtained free of charge. The price for quantity lots is 15 cents per copy. Payment for orders under \$1.00 should accompany the order. Requisitions

will be accepted for amounts over \$1.00. Orders may be addressed to the *Monatshefte* office, 87 Bascom Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

**UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY FOREIGN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE.** The Sixth University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference will be held this year, April 23-25. The general theme will be: *Making America Foreign Language Conscious*. William Riley Parker, editor of the PMLA, will be one of the main speakers and will discuss the \$120,000 grant of the Rockefeller Foundation to study the role foreign languages should play in American life.

As usual there will be sections devoted to German, French, Spanish, Italian, Biblical and Patristic Languages, Hebrew, Slavonic, Comparative Literature, and the Teaching of Classical and Modern Languages in the High Schools.

At the conference last year thirty-eight states and eight foreign countries were represented. The total attendance was something over 575, with nearly two hundred persons appearing on the program.

Further details concerning the conference may be obtained from Jonah W. D. Skiles, Conference Director, or from Paul K. Whitaker and Hobart Ryland, Associate Directors. Complete programs are available upon request.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### Goethe's Faust as a Renaissance Man.

By Harold Jantz. Princeton University Press, 1951. 198 pp. \$3.50.

This is an arresting book — arresting in that it challenges the accredited and accepted body of premises and tenets shaped through generations of Goethe philology and *Faust* scholarship. The series of nine chapters emphatically demonstrates and proposes that the problem, the structure, the world of the *Faust* drama is that of the Renaissance, not primarily that of its own era, not subjectively and intimately linked with Goethe the man and independently creative poet.

Both the validity and value of this approach to the drama the author sums up in one statement: ". . . that epoch is its point of departure and furnishes its fundamental premises, from which alone its problem, action, and solution can be truly understood" (p. 125).

It is quite impossible to subscribe to the exclusiveness of this statement, in spite of the engaging enthusiasm and urgent persuasiveness with which Jantz musters his data and constructs his argument. In order to attain to this categorical statement the author has chosen, or is forced, to minimize the importance of three basic factors in the shape and scope of the drama and its background: the chap-book-puppet play tradition, the texture and structure of life and thought in Goethe's own time, the poet's own assimilative and transmutative life philosophy and rare poetic genius (this last by implication and in effect, what though the essay explicitly and expressly concedes Goethe's poetic stature).

By placing the drama in the Renaissance, making its life and thought that of the Renaissance, pointing to analogues and parallels of thought pattern from

Cusanus through Pico and Kepler, the author claims that its "seeming contradictions resolve of themselves and the total work exhibits lines of unity previously unobserved" (p. 126).

To expiate upon the objections to this method of interpretative clarification step by step is manifestly impossible within the scope of this review. It would entail an expounding of all that has been accepted — and all that has been discarded as untenable — to shape the corpus of present-day *Faust* criticism. But, by way of illustration, an examination of the *Urfauast*, which is Jantz's point of departure, must bring home to the reader that he has before him a drama replete with salient features connecting it with the folk tradition. It points to the obvious fact that Goethe was writing a "national," "secular," and "individual" drama in the sense of Herder. The sixteenth century of Sachs, Paracelsus, Luther, and Faust attracted the poet's interest because of its *Deutschheit*, and it was not any specific thing that these or any such figures said or did, but what they represented as an aggregate of *Deutschheit* for the Storm and Stress.

If Goethe's plan envisioned a drama of the Renaissance, he put indefensible obstacles in his own and the reader's way by couching it in terms and an atmosphere which is *altfränkisch*, in Goethe's time a partial synonym for Gothic as well as the indigenously German. An approach to *Urfauast* as a Renaissance world must find in the Gretchen action, in *Knittelvers* and prose, a derailment, what with its burgher world of the eighteenth century — not intrinsically different from the world of *Werther*, except for its social stratum — in garden, street, cathedral, its *böser Geist hinter Gretgen*, and *Du Hölle wolltest dieses Opfer haben*, a line selected offhand and at random as representative of many others.

But all of Gretchen and her world may be an episodic interlude — eliminate it, however, and there is left of *Urfauast*: 1) Wagner, the pedant of all ages and lands, but particularly colored by Storm and Stress antipathy, not the exclusively Renaissance pedant, as he is pictured in this book. 2) Mephistopheles, the figure stemming from folklore and biblical literature, in Goethe's transmutation of him (in the Bible, Luther's translation, he already assumes some semblance of mischief maker and cynic: cf. Genesis 3, Job 2, Matthew 4 and 13); if prototypes are necessary, a much closer one could be found in Merck, even as to physical appearance. 3) A spirit of the macrocosm and an *Erdegeist* at a time in Goethe's life when he was in particularly close contact with Herder, Merck, and Schlosser with their absorbing interest in Shaftesbury (1772). 4) Faust, the symbolic receptacle and vehicle of Goethe's experience at this time. His own letters of these years will offer a cogent parallel, not to mention *Werther*'s attitude toward nature and the world of spirits, e. g. *Werther* I, 12. Mai, 21. Junius.

The *Urfauast* cannot serve as point of departure for Jantz's thesis; there are too many associative ties with the chapbook tradition, too much of eighteenth century life and thought, too much of Goethe in his Storm and Stress. That the poet himself so regarded *Urfauast* together with the accretions to the poem up to the time of *Faust, ein Fragment*, of 1790 is clear from his *Abschied*, planned as a finale for the first part, and written in 1798 (or as late as 1800). On this occasion Goethe in retrospect distastefully dismisses this world and its intimate association with his own past: "Und so geschlossen sei der Barbareien / Beschränkter Kreis mit seinen Zaubereien."

But what of Cusanus, Pico, and Kepler? Goethe does not mention them as having shaped his thinking at the time when *Faust* was assuming outline and form in his imagination. It seems more reasonable to accept the poet's own acknowledged reading of that time than to assume that he willfully suppressed or forgot not one, but all such major figures adduced in the course of this book. That is placing considerable strain on credibility.

That these major figures played a role in the shaping of *Faust* up to 1790 is not supported by any evidence from the Italian experience and after, either in the *Italienische Reise* or Goethe's correspondence. With the *Prolog im Himmel* the poem turns from the pantheistic, at its zenith in *Wald und Höhle*, to theistic symbols and predicates the medieval symbolism of *Faust II*, 5.

Any evidence that these Renaissance figures contributed vitally to the drama in its further progress after 1800 is scant, to judge from Goethe's correspondence — though this may not be conclusive. Cusanus is mentioned not at all, Pico in such secondary and nonpertinent connection as to be negative in import. Kepler, it is true, is treated of more generously in the *Farbenlebtre, Hist. Teil*, but not the Kepler who could have played a part in giving to the drama any decisive Renaissance cast.

All in all, the evidence that Goethe knew or knew of Pico and Kepler tends to be negative in support of the thesis that they are sponsors for anything vital to the drama. A better case can be made for Faust as a Renaissance man if we regard the eighteenth century as heir in direct lineage of Renaissance Humanism, Neoplatonism, Reformation, and all cultural cross currents in the chaotic era of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is not necessary to point out that the cultural stream is a continuum from antiquity. Middle Ages, Renaissance, Baroque, and Eighteenth Century embraced, rejected, expanded, and remolded the legacy of the past.

The evidence supporting a linkage of *Faust* with the thought world of Shaftesbury, Leibniz, Hamann, Swedenborg, Herder, Lessing, to mention only these, is too strong to permit their relegation to minor or even secondary rank. The determinant is not what can be traced to the pattern of thought or wording of any one of these, but the aggregate of their thinking, its tendency, and its proximity in time or direct personal association.

Resemblance of certain elements in *Faust* to certain Renaissance prototypes, and parallels in thought or spirit, do not make of it a Renaissance poem, not structurally nor in any other way. It is still Goethean, a fact which Jantz reluctantly admits in a masterpiece of understatement: "There is, of course, some truth to this claim of personal, subjective origin" (p. 6).

This final quotation is an example of the author's argumentative style, which is repeatedly punctuated by gratuitous slurs at past scholarship, particularly that of the much maligned nineteenth century. The first and last chapters are especially marked by statements which in their excessive claims and incontinence come perilously close to special pleading.

This reviewer is not willing to dismiss Jantz's essay as being without merit. The length of this discussion would testify to the contrary. If we disregard its major proposition, this is an interesting book, in that it repoints and fills out certain chinks in the *Faust* edifice. It may well give rise to further illuminative study of background details, e. g. Starkey's possible contributory force among the authors cited by Goethe as alimentary to his youthful thinking at the time when Faust was first absorbing his creative interest. It may stimulate investigation having to do with fuller appreciation of individual lines in the poem, such as the matter of Robert Fludd and his engraved representations of the macrocosm.

But the major proposition, in divorcing the poem from its intimate relation with the poet and his age, would isolate it to a unique position among Goethe's major creations as the only one to gain in meaning and force by such dissociation.

*University of Wisconsin.*

—Walter Gausewitz

#### *Goethes geistige Welt.*

*By Martin Loesche. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel Verlag, 1948. 380 pp.*

If one's knowledge of philosophy has become rusty, one ought to read this book. The author commands a great amount of erudition and the reader must be

on his toes most of the time to be able to follow the ideas which are presented to him. That means that the book is not easy reading. Short positive statements are interchanged with long ones that reach a length of twenty lines or more, all of which does not make for too smooth a style.

According to the preface the book is volume one of a series, *Welt und Genius*, edited by Martin Loesche and Arnold Plohmann.

A start is made with Goethe and nobody will question the validity of that choice. The title at first glance seems to be ambiguous. Does Loesche want to present the mental-spiritual world which Goethe created by means of his genius, or does he want to show the reader the mental-spiritual world in which Goethe lived and from which he obtained ideas and stimulation? The first sentences in the preface give the answer: both worlds influence each other and bring about a mutual development.

Rightfully Loesche advises us in his first chapter, "Dichter und Philosophie," that Goethe is a poet who gradually acquired his own philosophy and asks the question whether and how Goethe will be recognized as a philosopher. In order to find an answer to this question a kind of quick excursion is undertaken through Greek philosophy and medieval scholasticism up to the modern thinkers of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. What Goethe learned from these men who lived previous to 1700 is rapidly touched upon.

The longest chapter — over half of the book — entitled "Der Umkreis," deals with the philosophers who were Goethe's contemporaries and their influence upon him. Without referring to the results of any previous investigations the author explains Kant's great works and cites Goethe's reactions to them or even suggests that Goethe came to similar conclusions as Kant. However, Loesche does not venture to say that Goethe would have been essentially the same poet if Kant had never published a line. Little is made of Fichte's and of Schelling's influence upon Goethe's thinking. But more is said about Hegel's ideas and Goethe's attempts to take a positive attitude towards them. Loesche prefers Goethe's modest searching for clearness and understanding of the world of nature to Hegel's forceful demand for reaching the highest mental-spiritual goal with the help of a dialectic method.

It would have been extremely gratifying if Loesche had given us a special chapter dealing with Goethe and Herder and shown how Goethe's interest in Herder's views underwent different changes as time marched on. Goethe, outliving Herder, reached that middle position which eclectically took enough from Kant's critical philosophy and Herder's exuberant idealism to face nature with singular calmness.

Chapter IV entitled "Weltweite" stands a little by itself. It deals with the idea of the State and tries to defend Goethe against the attacks on the part of the patriotic firebrands who accused him of lacking proper love for his native country. Correctly Loesche points out that a German national spirit did not exist during Goethe's formative years and that Goethe must be understood as a product of his era. But did Goethe understand the times in which he lived? Did he possess feeling for popular causes and desires and for political tendencies? If he lacked love in a patriotic, national sense, he likewise lacked hatred in the national sense, and could admire a man like Napoleon.

As a naturalist Goethe has been called a forerunner of Charles Darwin, and Loesche agrees with this view to a limited extent. An honest attempt is made to give Goethe his correct place as a student of nature. Goethe was a great believer in evolution in general, but the modern theory of the origin of species was not yet in Goethe's mind; his views culminated in the doctrine of analogy. Loesche succeeds in making Goethe's position in the world of modern science very clear to his readers.

After a short interlude in which the author tries to throw light on Goethe's religious feeling, the scientific discussion is taken up again with an explanation of

Goethe's *Farbenlehre*. Loesche resembles many other Goethe enthusiasts in attempting a kind of *Ehrenrettung* for the *Farbenlehre*, no doubt a worth-while undertaking. Newton's theory of light won over Goethe's theory, but modern physics has far surpassed Newton and Goethe. Newton's theory became a link in a scientific chain, but Goethe's work remained a poetic and philosophical confession.

In spite of the author's great erudition the book falls short in a most important point: it does not clarify enough. The initiated do not need all the information which Loesche gives the reader, and the uninitiated become too easily confused. That does not mean that the readers will not learn much from this book. It is a storehouse of ideas, opinions, information, and facts.

In order to avoid the perpetuation of error the publisher should insert an erratum notice telling the reader that the date of Marlowe's *Faustus*, as shown on page 46, should be 1588.

*University of Missouri.*

—Hermann Barnstorff

### Half a Hundred Thralls to Faust.

*A Study based on the British and American Translators of Goethe's Faust, 1823-1949.*  
By Adolph Ingram Frantz. With a Foreword by Carl F. Schreiber. Chapel Hill:  
The University of North Carolina Press, 1949. xx + 315 pp.

After many years of gathering further data, A. I. Frantz has submitted a revised and expanded version of what was, in 1931, his doctoral dissertation at Yale. A substantial amount of the rare material utilized in this study was at the author's disposal in Yale University's Speck Collection of Goetheana.

Excluding partial translations, Frantz has dealt with the 38 British and the 10 American translators who have rendered either the first, or the second, or both parts of *Faust* into English. Of this oddly assorted company the only — but very able — women translators, Anna Swanwick and Alice Raphael, have been treated in a separate chapter in order "to give them more prominence." Because virtually nothing is ascertainable about them beyond the fact that each also managed to publish a translation of *Faust*, seven "shadowy figures" (including an anonymous "Beta") have been lumped together in another chapter. In the remaining eight chapters, the author has grouped the balance according to their "most significant life interest": two statesmen, six jurists, eight professors, three physicians, nine men of letters, six clergymen, two soldiers, and three scientists.

For each of these "thralls" to *Faust*, the author has provided whatever data he has been able to ascertain, in years of faithful searching, regarding the particular life, professional and literary activities, interest in German literature, Goethe, and *Faust*, circumstances and motives leading to translation as well as expressly stated theories and aims of translation. For each he has moreover attempted an evaluation in terms of faithfulness to thought and spirit of the original, poetic quality, and degree of success in adhering — where attempted — to Goethe's complex rhythmic patterns. Specimen passages and comparison of these with the efforts of one or more other translators are offered in corroboration of the particular judgment. Seven manuscript pages are provided as illustrations.

A bibliography (pp. 275-298) gives complete data on the various editions and printings of the translations; "bibliographical notes" (pp. 301-305) correct several long-standing errors in dates as well as persistent confusions of editions with translations; one table (pp. 306-307) enumerates in chronological order the British and American translations, and another (p. 310) lists the number of editions or reprints for each of these.

Frantz has treated a complex and refractory subject. He has painstakingly assembled and organized widely scattered material, most of it difficult of access, and presented it in readable form. His study offers telling proof of the appeal of *Faust*.

to a variety of temperaments from many different walks of life and of the continuing effort to achieve an acceptable translation. The reader will be inclined to accept Carl F. Schreiber's statement, in the Foreword, that this book contains "virtually all that can be said on this subject."

The book would, however, have gained from more careful redaction. While imbalances resulting from the amount of space devoted to each translator and his work — from a minimum of two (Colquhoun and Beta) to a maximum of eleven (Bayard Taylor), with a general average of five and one half pages — are perhaps inevitable in terms of available biographical data or demonstrability of the quality of a particular translation, inequalities also exist needlessly within certain groups, e. g. in the amount or relevance of detail on biography, academic attainments, membership in learned societies and the like of the "Cap and Gown" translators.

A number of typographical errors have been corrected in pen and ink, others remain. Among the more serious of these is *Turnadot* for *Turandot* which occurs twice on the same page (201).

Indiana University.

-H. J. Meessen

#### Die Pädagogik der deutschen Romantik: von Arndt bis Fröbel.

By Otto Friedrich Bollnow. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952. 227 pp.

The fourth in a contemplated series entitled *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, this volume commemorates the centennial of Fröbel's death. It is dedicated to Eduard Spranger.

After introductory remarks concerning Novalis and romantic poetry, Schelling and romantic philosophy, the author devotes the first section to the bases of romantic pedagogy, which are expounded through an analysis of the educational philosophy and *Lebensformen* of two romanticists seldom associated with pedagogy: Ernst Moritz Arndt and Jean Paul. Section two, "Der nationalpädagogische Gedanke" discusses the development and ramifications of this idea by Fichte, Jahn, and Arndt. The third, most comprehensive section deals with the culmination of romantic pedagogy in Friedrich Fröbel.

Professor Bollnow feels that the time is ripe for reexamination of the history of educational values and objectives. He wants to free it of "eines auch heute noch nicht ganz ausgestorbenen subalternen Geistes." This history, he contends, must not be considered as an isolated discipline, but as an integral part of a comprehensive *Geistesgeschichte*, a goal as envisioned by Wilhelm Dilthey, who is cited: "die Gestaltung des Kunstwerks der Person oder der persönlichen Bildung . . . (ist) . . . das Wesenhafte, was die Kultur jedes Zeitalters hervorbringt und alle seine Einzelleistungen ermöglicht. Sie ist die Einheit derselben."

Dr. Bollnow succeeded in what he attempted. He has avoided an encyclopedic compendium. Instead, he has been critically selective, has provided adequate detail, and has drawn heavily upon sources. This is not overdone; the excerpts are skillfully handled. The product of this process is a lucid exposition with frequent reassessments in the light of contemporary thinking.

Incidentally, for us servants of the word, it is delightful to observe the tremendous, almost magic importance which those times assigned to language, linguistic symbolism, and to the cultivation of language as an educative expedient.

Fröbel will be forever remembered as the father of the kindergarten. Dr. Bollnow shows that Fröbel's total educational philosophy transcends the kindergarten. One small example, based on Fröbel's learning aids, may suggest the greater range encompassed. This technique begins with the child's so placing his fingertips together that they form a bridge. An accompanying illustration and rhyme complement this spanning. The physical process forms a transition to the

concept of mediation and balancing of antitheses through self-activity. The whole is then elucidated as exemplifying the romantic principle of dialectic synthesis. Finally, the intellectual bridging symbolizes that ultimate bridging between visible and invisible, earth and heaven.

*Ohio State University.*

*-Wayne Wonderley*

**Whitman and Rolleston. A Correspondence.**

*By Horst Frenz. Indiana University Publications. Humanities Series No. 26. Bloomington, Ind., Dec. 1951. Pp. 137. \$1.50.*

Aside from the well-known fact that the appearance in 1889 of a considerable portion of *Leaves of Grass* (*Grashalme*, Zürich), translated by the Irishman Thomas William Rolleston and the German-American Karl Knortz, was an incident of some importance in Walt Whitman's rise toward worldwide recognition, little was known about the circumstances attending this event until Professor Horst Frenz began his inquiries. In December, 1946, he published an essay in the *American-German Review* on Knortz, who, upon his emigration to America in 1863, became a prolific editor, critic, author and translator from German into English and English into German. In the May, 1948, number of *American Literature* Professor Frenz reprinted thirteen letters that Whitman wrote to Knortz between 1882 and 1887, first published by Knortz himself in the appendix of the now rare second edition of his *Walt Whitman, der Dichter der Demokratie* (Leipzig, 1889). Mr. Frenz's latest contribution adds twenty-four letters from Rolleston to Whitman, seven from Whitman to Rolleston, and one from John Fitzgerald Lee to Whitman, together with Whitman's reply. Thus we now have the materials from which to reconstruct the story of the ups and downs of the German translation, planned by Rolleston as early as 1881, Whitman's enthusiastic cooperation, and Knortz's participation in the venture that resulted in the first major collection of Whitman's poems to appear in Germany and initiated a Whitman movement in that country. The letters supply not only many interesting biographical details and sidelights but form a supplement to and commentary upon the story, as we know it, of Whitman's ambition to create "a cycle of international poems" and set up as a "world-poet." The whole is a model of careful editing and thoughtful annotation.

*University of Wisconsin.*

*-Henry A. Pochmann*



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